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AKWESASNE NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

IN THIS ISSUE

Pine Ridge Murders Continue Despite Wilson Defeat

Menominee Deaths . . . what really happened?

Box Canyon Case Did the CIA Kill To Smear AIM?

and

a special section for 'white people' and their imitators

prophecy

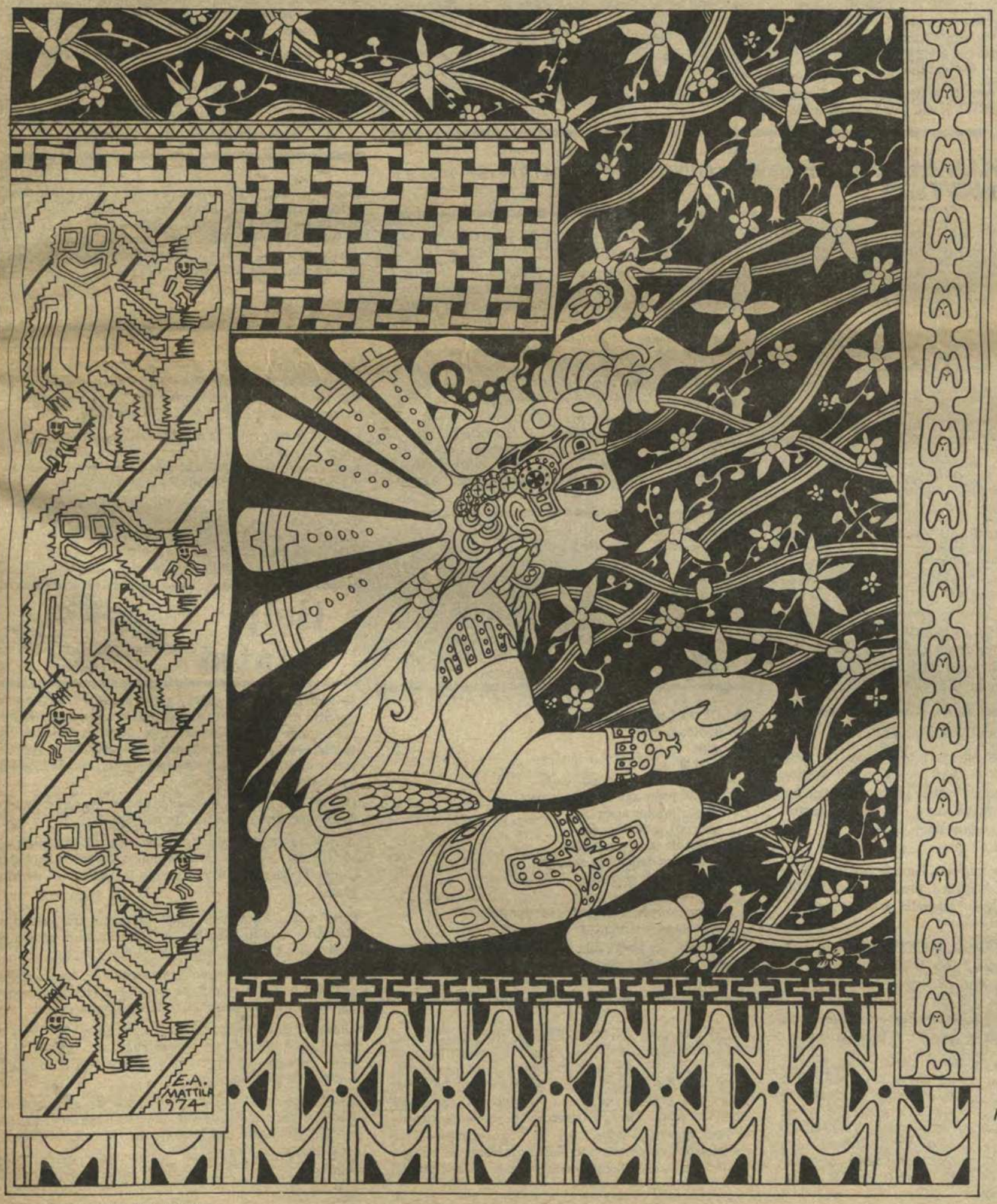
spirit

poetry

Linguistic Program Cover For Missionary Activity Among The Heathens

Gasification In The Southwest

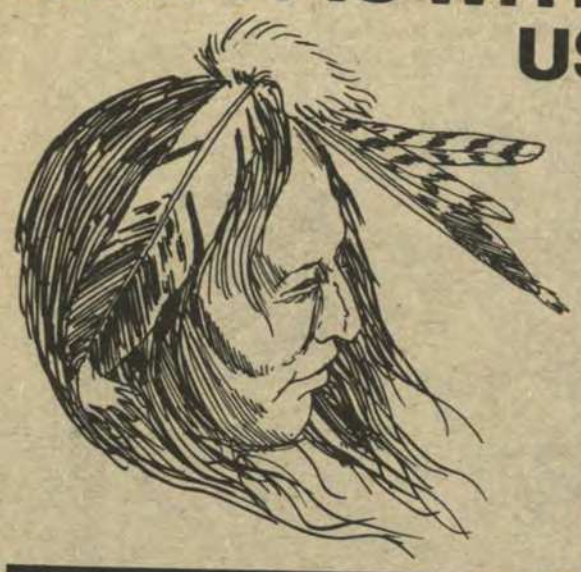
A SPECIAL APPEAL FROM GUATEMALA TO THEIR RELATIVES IN THE NORTH



— cover art by Eric Matilla

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US



A year has passed since my first visit with AKWESASNE NOTES. The snow covers Our Mother now as it did then, and many of the same People I met then are still around.

I have visited often since then, and I have been a part of many things, watched other people come and go, and saw how their visiting experience at NOTES compared with my own. After a while, I began to wonder how it is that some persons manage so much better than others when visiting. The distinctions can't be made solely on the basis of race – it seems more of a frame of mind that enables some people to enjoy their visit, be useful, and to define themselves happily in relation to those who surround them.

People come from all over Our Mother Earth to visit and work together at NOTES, and to form and build ideas and notions gathered from reading NOTES. Yet, as it is with images that please us, we tend to place great emphasis on them, and many times find ourselves disappointed and dismayed when we finally come face to face with a reality. These notions we have blind us to reality, prevent us from allowing the experience to more or less define itself. We see what we want to see, whether it exists or not, and impose ourselves on it, feeling uncomfortable, insecure, until we can classify and judge and label.

For many persons, the transition from ordinary main street to life at NOTES is difficult. Each will see what is happening on a different plane, according to their own view of the world. Some come to help, expecting to find an actively-working traditional native community, a model which may be copied and put into existence elsewhere. These people are disappointed when they find that putting out a newspaper involves duties, business, efficiencies, deadlines which may seem to come in conflict with things we'd like to be doing in the natural world. So for the time being, we have to find a balance because we realize the importance of NOTES and want to keep it alive a little longer.

Other persons are disappointed that NOTES people don't have many of the answers they are seeking. Yet we too are like yourselves, still children, still learning, searching, feeling things out for the first time as we start on the trail back home.

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I see NOTES as a mirror into which we can glance and see ourselves, our own People, and the spirit which binds us all. NOTES is a tool for self-realization. Let us learn to support One Another in the Spirit of Peace and Understanding, and walk side-by-side on the Creator's Road.

– Hal Malmud

Our 50th Issue

COMING UP NEXT!

The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be the 50th issue since the newspaper began in December, 1968. That's almost 2,400 pages, well over a million copies, and lots of misery and fun, hardship and joy. Since 1968, the movement of native peoples has changed a lot – and so have we, as a newspaper, and as human beings.

We're open to ideas from readers as to how to celebrate. Maybe there will be special poetry and articles and art work sent to make the 50th issue a special one.

Maybe it is a time for special gifts to help ensure 50 more issues – gifts of time or energy or money or things or spirit.

Maybe readers will write to tell us how life has changed for them since they began reading NOTES, and what NOTES means to you, so that we will come to know what we mean to each other.

Maybe readers will write to say how they see NOTES developing, and in what direction it should go.

And maybe readers will have suggestions of their own as to how AKWESASNE NOTES should celebrate this special event.

So, between now and May 15, how about writing on some of these things:

50th Issue Special
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, New York 13683

AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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telephone (518) 358-4697

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION ON PAGE 11

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird, Mickey Posluns, Kanaweienton, Juan Reyna, Jayne George, Rokwaho, Susie Boots, Aroniawenrate, Sara, Kahonhes, Francis Estrella, Katsitsiakwa, Ateronhiatakon, Red Dog, Raosennawane, Wenniseriio, Elmer, Kahratohen and Ma Boots, Gayle High Pine, Jeronimo Jimenez Bautista, plus visitors and helpers like Boris & Brigetta from Sweden, Loren Wiame of France, Steve Ames, Mark Meier, Eddy, Kevin, Kanaratkanoron, James Lucas, Soterakwen, Hal Malmud, Jerome Diabo, Ellen, Dorothy Ann, Juanito, Lakota, Vernon & Donald of Anishnawbeg Nation, Boston Steve, John Soto, Kawisokwas, Sheila, Pearl, Sotakkowane, Wendy, Kaientares, and many more.

We are very grateful to all our friends who have sent us clothing, books, and other things of value and use to enable us to continue our work. As full-time volunteers, we are not able to maintain ourselves fully, and help we receive enables us to live and survive. The material aid is not only indicative of the political and moral and spiritual support we receive from friends in nations all over the world, but the knowledge that there are those who care gives us the strength and encouragement to continue a difficult task.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of Jim Little Wolf Ayres, formerly of Sanford, Maine; Milton Mills, New Hampshire, and Gatlinburg, Tennessee, Please contact AKWESASNE NOTES. Also, anyone knowing the whereabouts of Ramona Jones, formerly of Chicago, please contact AKWESASNE NOTES.

If you have no idea why you have been getting AKWESASNE NOTES in your mailbox, what probably happened is that a friend sent us your name and asked that we send you a few copies. We hope you've found the paper of some value to you in your life.

While it is true there is no fixed subscription rate, the paper is not free. The paper will last as long as its readers care about it – and when they cease to do so, AKWESASNE NOTES will die a natural death.

So, if you have not yet sent NOTES support financially or in other ways, perhaps this will be a good time to do so, before spring fever fogs minds. And if you have supported NOTES in the past, but not recently, why not put a few extra dollars in the mail to us now?

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at your address label on this paper. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions to expire.

This month, it is New England, New Jersey, and New York City that gets red-labelled, plus British Columbia and Finland, Switzerland, Australia & New Zealand, Central America.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although it might be a good time to renew your support.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. Going home for the summer? Let us know. If you're not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 10 cents. Since 5% or so of our readers do move between issues, that would mean more than $300 cost to us, plus the loss of 3,000 newspapers. So, please write BEFORE you move!

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- linoleum
- pails
- animal hides
- snowshoes, toboggans, sleds
- maple syrup making equipment
- tree-trimming saws
- a recent encyclopedia
- a treadle sewing machine
- filters for darkroom enlarger
- wall paint & enamel
- a compass
- floor varnish, interior & exterior paint
- used tape-recorders
- art supplies: india ink, pen & nibs, drawing paper, oil and acrylic media & brushes

ALSO NEEDED FOR NOTES: A truck and a van. We're willing to buy them, but we're looking for good bargains on reliable vehicles. Truck must be able to carry a 6,000 pound load. The van could be a VW micro-bus, International, or other for carrying people and light loads. Needed immediately: both vehicles are needed regularly here, and our two current older vehicles died this winter. If you know where we can get a good deal on good equipment, please write or phone.

Help Wanted

Several task forces will be gathering at NOTES to do specific jobs – four or five people working together to accomplish needed work. One crew is needed for several weeks of painting, making minor home repairs, spring cleaning, shaping up the grounds, etc. This group wil begin about May 15.

One or two persons are needed about the same time to clean, salt, dry, freeze fish for eating later.

A crew to prepare gardens for planting and to plant are needed for several weeks beginning May 15. Probably about six persons will be enough to work with persons here.

Persons who know what they are doing are needed to plan now, and in late May to install, a wind-generated electrical system at a mountain NOTES camp.

Later this year, other crews will be needed for gardening, harvest and drying, berry-picking, wood cutting, and carpenters for construction of cabins.

These are good opportunities to see what NOTES is all about, and to help in a significant way at the same time. No expenses once you're here if you're willing to share what we have.

Also, we need additions to our regular staff: a book-keeper, someone to file our mailing list and manage circulation, writers, typists.

First opportunities are given to people from Akwesasne, then other native people, and then all others.

Please – if you can help, write us and let us know.

NATIVE PEOPLE IN GUATEMALA NEED OUR HELP!

[Less than a month before the earthquake in Guatemala, Juan Reyna of AKWESASNE NOTES was in that Mayan country, arranging for various projects of travel, cooperation, and mutual help between the Peoples of the North and the Peoples of the South. One of the villages he visited was San José Poaquil. This was his report, and these are his photos. Then the earthquake hit — virtually every home in the village was destroyed. Hundreds were killed, thousands wounded.]

San José Poaquil

We met Nicolás Tecún, Jesus Maxía, and Leon Apin Sajbochol in Tecpán, and spent most of the day talking. About 6 p.m., we caught a bus to Poaquil. The bus was extremely crowded.

In this part of Guatemala, the landscape is deceiving. From Tecpán, it doesn't seem like the mountains are very much, but as one rides the bus, the view changes. Poaquil is hidden deep and down between the mountains. The town is completely surrounded by fields of corn, as high up the mountains as it is possible to climb.

The roads reaching Poaquil are dirt trails, constantly going up and down — one wonders how the bus is able to make it. In the rainy season, they say, there is no travel except by walking.

When we arrived at Poaquil, we were met by a group of people and we all went to Nicolás' house. Nicolás is a very strong and outspoken person, well respected by all in his community. He spoke about his family and his childhood. Both of his parents died when he was quite young, and an older sister helped him along. Soon he was taken to the fincas — the plantations — to work. The long hours in the coastal sun turned his skin black, he said.

It was at the fincas that he remembers seeing people sicken and die. Nicolás said he felt he wanted to have just enough land to grow food to support his family, and some kind of trade so none of his family would ever have to work in the fincas.

Later, Nicolás spoke about the Spirit of Corn, the Mayan Calendar, and Tikal, the huge, ornate abandoned temple recently uncovered in Guatemala. On his wall was the Mayan Calendar, the names of the counts, and what they mean. Nicolás says that the birth of Man in the Western Hemisphere was in Tikal.

Nicolás' wife came in with their son and his wife. The couple were young. They say their people marry from 12 years on up. They invite us to supper in a house a few doors down. As we arrive there, men are outside talking. Women and children greet us inside. An old man is shelling corn close to the fire in which tortillas are being made. We talked after supper, and then it was time to rest.

***

The night in Poaquil was cold, and sleeping was uneasy. We slept on a dirt floor covered by woven palm mats. We covered ourselves with our coats and pieces of cloth.

***

Early the next morning, Leon came down to greet us, and to take us to his home. On the way, we met a lot of people on their way to the market. It is hard to believe the loads people carry — even women, children, and old men. One can see the strains on their faces as they climb up and down those mountain roads with loads of pottery, fruit, textiles, blankets, and so many other things.

"Good day," they say when we pass by.

We arrive at Leon's house, some five kilometers from Poaquil. The home is completely surrounded by corn — he says he needs every inch possible. Leon is 29 years old, married, with three children. He is very quiet, yet friendly and generous. His house is used as a club

— AKWESASNE NOTES photos by Juan Reyna

Before the earthquake, life in San Jose Poaquil was hard, yet the people endured, meeting in the market place for trade, and gathering to weave while their children watched.

— AKWESASNE NOTES photos by Juan Reyna

Before the earthquake, life in San Jose Poaquil was hard, yet the people endured, meeting in the market place for trade, and gathering to weave while their children watched.

in which some women come to weave together. For a while, backstrap weaving was becoming a lost art in this area, because footloom weaving was a faster process. But now the people want to continue with the backstrap. It is hard for them to sell what they make — there is little market for it in Guatemala — most people do not have the money to buy, and many people do their own weaving. So Leon goes to Guatemala City to sell what he can, and to buy the raw material for the women. They hardly make a profit — the cost of the cotton is almost the price at which they have to sell. Four women were weaving on the front porch. Children were playing near a young girl about six years old, who was taking care of her younger brothers and sisters. After drinking some coffee, we went back to Poaquil.

Nicolás takes us to their local church. Today, they receive the leaders of the Confradia. These leaders wear long black capes, with bright scarves underneath. At the church, we meet Nicolás' brother, who is one of the leaders. The church is now controlled by the People of Poaquil. They ousted the last Catholic priest sent to them because they said they knew he was sending the money collected at church services to Rome. They said they badly needed that money for their own ceremonies in the village. They said they wanted no more priests living with them. Now a priest comes from Guatemala City for Mass, and when he finishes the service, he leaves.

Where we are standing is a stand filled with all kinds of fruit as offerings. Outside, the market is crowded with people selling everything from combs to incense to pineapples.

We go to a nearby building, in which many people have gathered to hear the story on the beaded belt which explains about White Roots of Peace. The people constantly talk about the ways of their people, of what has been lost and taken, and about how they want to find and use those ways again, especially the Mayan Calendar and the weaving.

Most of the men have lost their traditional dress because of their constant dealings with the outside world, but the women remain strong in their clothing from the Old Times. One can feel the tremendous strength in the women.

[continued next page]

After The Earthquake

[After the earthquake, a Mayan brother, cooperating with AKWESASNE NOTES, and working for the Instituto Indigenista Nacional, went to San José Poaquil to see what had happened there, and what help was needed. This is his report.]

A few days after the earthquake in Guatemala. So many people are injured, rebuilding and working in the fields is difficult. Indians, the hardest hit, will have the hardest time restoring lives to normal.. Even under "normal conditions", lives of Indians are hard and often cruel.

As we passed from Guatemala City to Poaquil, a distance of about 80 miles, we noted the total destruction suffered by the Indian towns of Mixco, San Lucas Sacatepequez, El Tejar, Zumpango, Chimaltenango, Patzicía, Tecpán, Santa Cruz Balanyá, Comalapa, Santa Apolonia and finally, San José Poaquil.

These towns have suffered badly, with loss of human life and materials. There is a total destruction of homes, most of which were made of adobe with tile roofs, reflecting the poverty of the people.

The main municipality of Poaquil, which is a pueblo composed of 13 villages, is now a piece of land with homes buried with earth from the east and south. The roofs of zinc are intact, but instead of covering a home, now cover a pile of adobe dust.

There is a population of 10,000 in Poaquil, mostly native people. All of the homes were totally destroyed, or have been left uninhabitable or dangerous. Most of the people now are exposed to the sun and the dust in the daytime, and to the intense cold that comes to these high mountains in the nighttime.

The effect has been destructive physically and psychologically to the people. The agriculture and commerce is disrupted, and the town is not able to take steps to redevelop a normal existance.

80% of the production here is in corn and beans, but there is no one to work the fields which were not destroyed — many men are dead or badly injured, and the harvest will be difficult.

We saw the huge destruction of miles of land, tons and tons of earth, on the village of Panejá. Many fields of planted corn and pine trees fell into the River Taculxaja, damming it up and forming a huge lake, putting the inhabitants and the remaining fields in danger.

In the village of Saquitacaj, the living conditions are bad. In the location of one society of weavers in the village of Sarajmac, many died in their homes, or suffered the loss of their possessions and tools.

The number of dead here is about 350 to 400. The list of injured or hurt people is growing. There are 6500 persons hurt, with fractures and injuries — 2 persons out of 3.

For instance, there is Don Nicolás Tecún, whom you know. He suffered an injured foot when his sons rescued him from underneath the walls of his destroyed home. He was unconscious. His wife and one of his oldest sons suffered fractures. We see them now, without a house. We helped them build a very small shelter in which they can sleep, cooking their beans and tortillas outside.

A neighbor to the right died — nobody was able to help when he cried for aid. The woman who owned the store and her daughters also died. Many children are left without parents, and many parents are left without children. One family of seven died except for two who were away from the town on that night.

The people of the pueblo have told us that their most urgent needs are homes to live in. They are hoping that the homes can be made of wood this time — there are forests of pine which they can use, but they don't have the tools and labor for them, or the skilled craftsmen to show them how to build. They hope for roofs made of zinc or a special roof which is made of cement sheets.

There is also need for medicines and medical personnel for immediate and future use, and to prevent epidemics. There is a need for dental workers also.

There is a need for agricultural recovery, and for the weavers and craftsmen to buy the necessary materials and equipment in order for them to resume work when they can.

— Jeronimo Camposeco Rojas

To: AKWESASNE NOTES/White Roots of Peace
Mohawk Nation

February 18, 1976

Respectfully, I am honored to write to you in the name of the municipality of San José Poaquil, in response to your offer to aid in the reconstruction of our People, their villages and homes destroyed in the recent earthquake that shook all of Guatemala.

I am very grateful for your intervening on behalf of this crippled town. Almost all the homes are destroyed. The few left standing are unsafe and will have to be brought down as they are ready to fall.

I am grateful for your plan to help, which has been well-received here. I am very grateful for your consideration, and I am pleased to write you with much attention as a sure servant,

— Jorge Jutzuy Sisimit
Alcalde Municipal
San José Poaquil,
Chimaltenango, Guatemala

AN APPEAL

Help is already in Guatemala from agencies ranging from the Seventh Day Adventists to the United States Army or the Government of Italy.

The question is – will the native people of North America and those who support their causes, also help their relatives in Guatemala?

A coalition of native organizations, tribal councils, individuals, groups, Indian studies programs, Chicano Centers, etc., is being organized by AKWESASNE NOTES to respond to the critical needs to the south caused by the earthquake.

A report from our contacts in Guatemala indicates that one native pueblo desperately needing assistance is the Cakchikel pueblo of San José Poaquil, whose needs are described on the previous page. The leaders of the pueblo have been asked what sort of help was needed, and if they would be willing to work with native people from the north. They have replied positively.

An initial task-force of expert personnel is being organized for June 20-August 10. Additional delegations and follow-up will be organized later in the summer and autumn. Persons who can assist with their own transportation costs, or who can provide their own tents, sleeping bags, camper, etc., are asked to do so, and assistance for those who cannot is being sought.

Only qualified and experienced persons are needed. Guatemala has talented, capable people, and our task-force is not intended to do things which the people of Guatemala can do better. All participants must realize they will be working under difficult and strenuous conditions, that they will be working under the direction and subject to the supervision of the people of the pueblo, and cooperatively with the other persons in the task force.

Three kinds of help, principally, are needed. Medical help of all sorts: doctors, nurses, physical therapists, technicians.

Secondly, construction people are needed: carpenters, masons, portable saw-mill operators, lumbermen.

Third, agricultural experts: people able to assist with low-cost labor-intensive ways of improved gardening, rehabilitation of soils, re-establishment of family flocks of chickens and turkeys, etc.

In addition, a small number of support persons, drivers, media people, etc., will participate.

Material help is also needed in each category. Individuals and native groups are asked to contact industry, farmers, and organizations in their area. Equipment can be loaned or donated. For instance, the agricultural component will need rototillers, poultry incubators, seeds of all kinds and quantity, tools like shovels and hoes, plastic for greenhouses, small tractors.

Food is also needed. Perhaps farmers would agree to set aside a few tons of wheat or corn or a truckload of apples. Warm clothing and blankets are necessary. Plastic or canvas for tents and shelter will be necessary for the rainy season which is coming soon.

– El Grafico photo by Manuel de J. Estrada

Joyabaj . . . 80% destroyed

The construction people will also need tools: saws, hammers, portable generators, wheelbarrows, chain & cross-cut saws. There is also a need for a portable saw-mill to harvest the pine the pueblo needs for reconstruction.

Households will have to be re-equipped with utensils, lamps, bedding, lanterns, candles. Weavers need thread, dyes. Women need needles, soaps. Children need soccerballs, and everyone needs expressions of beauty and joy.

The municipality will require piping to re-establish water supplies, and office equipment and supplies to keep in operation.

The medical crew needs medicines, herbs, supplies, equipment, including the loan of such items as portable dental clinics, x-ray clinics, field hospitals.

Here on the college campuses and in industry, there is a need for research and planning: what sorts of inexpensive housing would be appropriate for this climate with warm days and cool nights, allowing for indoor open-fire cooking, and not hazardous during earthquakes? What kinds of roofing can be manufactured on the site, such as chipboard or foam sprayed over wire frame. What ways can the people there use their own labor, available wood and other natural materials?

Transportation is also needed – everything from semi trucks to pick-ups. Trucking lines might be helpful in delivering goods to a central shipping point such as Montreal, New Brunswick, New York, Miami, New Orleans.

Even small craft capable of carrying cargo or personnel from Gulf ports to Guatemalan ports would be useful. Or aircraft.

Funds are also badly needed. Donations sent will be used to fill in gaps not covered by gifts of materials. All workers are voluntary, and administrative costs of the project are being met in other ways, so all funds are of 100% benefit to the people of Poaquil.

One other way in which groups and individuals can help is in the marketing of the beautiful textiles woven by the people of this stricken area. How about a church, class, or organization having a bazaar, or setting up a table at a shopping center for a week to sell these materials, with all profits going to the relief of the problems in Guatemala.

IF YOU CAN HELP:

Contact us first to tell us how you can help. Write, or telephone person-to-person to "Guatemala Project People" at (518) 358-4697. Your number will be taken, and your call will be returned as soon as possible. Or write: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Talk about traditionalism, cooperation, sharing, and unity is cheap. Now is an opportunity for the native and natural peoples of North America to demonstrate to their Cakchiquel relatives that there is action behind those words.

The project will be documented on film and in print, and a book will be published to commemorate the donors, the participants in the task-force, and the people of San Jose Poaquil and Guatemala.

We are only too aware of the dangers of do-gooderism, and we hope we have taken sufficient safeguards in the planning of the project to prevent cultural imperialism on our part. It is our goal solely to help the people of Poaquil to help themselves in the ways they themselves decide, putting our minds together as one with them.

Hundreds of thousands of people will read this appeal. Perhaps others will cause it to be reprinted in leaflet form for further distribution. The measure of our humanity will be measured in the way in which we respond to the appeal for our help.

Dirge

Not with words –
in silence
with eyes closed
to guard the tears
we suffer your drama
our drama
Mother of Clear Stars,
Guatemala.

Thus it must be,
But for me, impossible –
I have thrown to the wind
the arrows of my cry
I want them to hear my protest,
all the men of the earth.

Then, hear this:
I will say it with quiet voice, broken,
Mother of the Volcanoes,
You who see
with lakes for eyes,
how you have suffered
there, defeated,
in your bed of cornfields,
mutilated!
As you have suffered
to see your children
cast away, vagabonds,
in skies and villages
already ghosts.

Mother of the pyramids
and the mysterious pillars
Where are your spirits,
your Mayan spirits?
Why did they not escape
the stones
to save you?
Why the absence
of the Heart of the Sky
and of the Earth?
Why no wine
of the Cosmic Space,
the comet-spirit Gucumatz,
the green-winged one?

Mother of the transparent sunset,
and white diamonds,
how you have suffered
for the liquid geraniums
that flow in torn
veins
and for the unmoving faces,
masks of ashes,
tragic nests of silence
of the glacial blueness
of the final shadow
without dawn.

Generous,
you suffer and forget
that many of your sons
never knew to worship
burned trees
poisoned rivers
refused bread and shelter
robbed land
of those who needed it most,
the dying
silent Indians.

This tragedy – did you want it?
Immovable.
Maybe you said it
to show everybody
your naked heart
so they can awaken
so they can understand
they can recover;
the violence and hate
may disappear by itself.

If you continue ordering
To plant strength
Seeds of tenderness
in your fertile belly
to see the clouded skies
with luminous signals
one day of glory
your truthful image
of justice for all
and happy families
Mother of Clear Stars
Guatemala

– José Castaneda

[Jose Castaneda is director of Guatemala's Instituto Indigenista Nacional.]

YOUR INFORMATION MIGHT SAVE THEIR LIVES

Ventura, California

Two native men jailed in California face trials this spring which may send them to the gas chamber.

There is at least a possibility that they have been framed and/or used by Government agents in order to discredit the American Indian Movement.

Paul Durant is known by quite a few people. Some are his friends, others recall having problems with him, problems seemingly caused by alcohol mixed with instability. He has been personally active in all national demonstrations for native causes within the last decade. He worked as a director of the Indian House in Brooklyn, N.Y., as a coordinator for New York City's American Indian Cultural Workshop. He was liaison to the Indian community for the Ecumenical Task Force on Indian Ministries in Chicago, and was one of the original founders and incorporators of the Chicago Chapter of the American Indian Movement.

Richard Mohawk is also known as Richard Billings, is a Tuscarora/Mohawk from near Niagara Falls. He is a firm believer in the Longhouse religion, and has actively participated in a number of actions, including the Chicago Indian Village, the ecological-oriented American Indian Tree Service, and also was a founder and incorporator of Chicago AIM. He has worked for native rights in Arizona, and was active in mobilizing support for the defendants of Wounded Knee.

They are charged with the murder of a taxi driver in a case which has come to be known as the AIM Camp 13 Murder".

One of the characters involved in the scene is one Douglass Durham, whose activities as an FBI/CIA informer and provocateur were detailed in the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.

The trials of Sky Horse and Mohawk were due to begin March 22. Both men have been hampered by the lack of attorneys. At the present time, the men have no attorneys, little support from anyone – in fact, few people know about their situation. And yet this case may not only be an injustice to them, but it may reveal the depths to which anti-native forces will go to prevent native people from changing their situation in life.

Durant and Mohawk have been imprisoned since October, 1974, in the Ventura County Jail awaiting their trial. Communication with them has been difficult. Letters sent to them by AKWESASNE NOTES and others have been returned, marked "Not Here". The men have complained that their court-appointed lawyers have refused to transmit vital information to them.

In fact, Durant found out about the involvement of Douglass Durham in his case by a fortunate coincidence – after being denied AKWESASNE NOTES for over a year by jail officials, he happened to get the last issue revealing Durham's role as an FBI/CIA informer.

The whole picture of their case is not in yet – fragments are in St. Paul, Los Angeles, Phoenix. Perhaps some persons who read this will have information, and will come forward to prevent Durant and Mohawk from conviction – and execution.

"Last night, as if in answer to my prayers, a copy of AKWESASNE NOTES was given to me with the order that I return it as soon as I read it," Durant wrote to NOTES. "As I went through the issue I was stunned – not having had any access to news for such a long period of time placed me in a position of not knowing what had happened in Indian Country. . . . Of particular interest to me was the expose of Douglas Durham. I have maintained since I have been in here that I am the victim of a conspiracy. My acquaintances have questioned my position as being paranoid, hateful, and just who do I think I am that the state would go to all the trouble [to frame me].

"Then I find out about Operation CHAOS [a CIA domestic disruption program]. I hope I am not being egotistical, but I believe I am a victim of this plot.

"I met with Doug Durham at least three times just prior to my arrest. He even came out to the encampment where all the events that surround my imprisonment occurred. I invited him there seeking his help. . . At the time of our meetings, I remember I felt he was interrogating me. At the time, I felt he was just being weird.

"He did manage to elicit from me some of my projected ideas and plans, including that I intended to go to Phoenix and participate in the National Indian Education Association Convention, where I was arrested.

"When the decision to repudiate us from AIM was made, Durham was the responsible source. When one of the co-defendants (at that time, 1974) was able to make $100,000 bond (her father is a retired Navy commander and a millionaire), Durham met with her.

"What does all this prove? Well, it seems to me he was just too closely associated with the events to be coincidental in the light of his undercover work for a force to discredit AIM. The event certainly discredits AIM, and can be said to discredit all Indians. He certainly didn't lose nothing by his attempt to disassociate AIM from what happened. In fact, he might have raised a question with other AIM sympathizers about whether AIM protects their own.

"I am in no position to substantiate anything – I can merely attest to my innocence and point out the fact that there is no physical evidence against me or my co-defendant."

The prosecution's theory of the murder is sensational – a bunch of drunken, drug-crazed Indians at a California "guerrilla training camp" operated by the American Indian Movement, senseless and brutally murdered a cab driver, George Aird, after hours of torture on October 10, 1974.

The press played up the slaying with details of a supposed scalping, drumming and singing of the AIM song. The body was found near a tipi and the bloodstained taxicab was carefully parked right by an "AIM CAMP 13" sign, all of which was good filming for the many television cameramen who came to the scene.

The sensationalist *National News Extra* headlined an article, "Heathen Redskins Kidnapping Whites, Torturing Them in Barbaric Rituals". It began, "It is the season of Indian tribal dances, and every man, woman, and child in the nation is in danger of being kidnapped and used in the barbaric rituals." It quoted an INTERPOL official – which has CIA links – as saying, "We expect up to 2,000 abductions this year. And God help the victims." The article was dated December 15, 1974.

The prosecution is going on certain evidence it has been given. Marvin Wayne ("Oglaluta") Red Shirt, from Pine Ridge and Hot Springs, South Dakota, took a Red-and-White cab out to the camp, located in a rugged area north of Los Angeles on October 10. An argument started about fare, according to Red Shirt's testimony at a preliminary hearing, and Durant and Mohawk dragged the driver out and stabbed him 17 times. They tied the body to the cab and dragged it all around the grounds. He said they set the body up and scalped it, while singing the AIM anthem. Then, they made Red Shirt stab the dead body.

At the preliminary, Red Shirt's testimony was substantiated by Holly Broussard, who is said to be the daughter of the retired Naval Intelligence Commander mentioned in Durant's letter, and Red Shirt's girl friend. After he was released on probation, Red Shirt went to live with the Broussards.

Someone from the camp is supposed to have called the police, who came and arrested all the persons still there then – 5 a.m. It is still unclear who did call the police, and why these persons remaining behind didn't split, and who else had been there that night.

All of this could be true – but it does all come from persons who have vested interests in seeing to the conviction of Durant and Mohawk.

Durant and Mohawk were not arrested at the camp. Those who were arrested are Amy Broken Leg, Red Shirt's girl friend until Holly came along; Marcella Makes Noise Eaglestaff, and Broussard and Red Shirt. The next day, Roland Knox, said to be Marcella's companion, and Lee War Lance, who was said to be a friend of AIM leader Carter Camp, were arrested in Los Angeles.

Durant and Mohawk were picked up one week later in Phoenix, attending the NIEA convention there. Later, Virginia and Frank Sexton were charged with being accessories to murder. They are a couple Durant used to visit in Los Angeles – they seem now to have disappeared.

Court minutes show that Marvin Wayne Red Shirt made a deal to testify against Durant and Mohawk around December, 1974. He was then released in January, 1975, on probation. Various AIM members say Durham raised $100,000 to bond Holly Broussard out right away, although the money may have come from her father, who is a wealthy apartment building owner. Amy Broken Leg testified at the preliminary she had slept through the whole thing. She was released, and has disappeared.

Marcella Eaglestaff was heavily pressured while she was in jail – eventually she gave damaging testimony against Durant and Mohawk. Later, she was said to have regretted this, as they were facing death. Others say she told them she wanted to change her testimony to "the truth, which can cut them loose." But she has disappeared – and Durant and Mohawk hope someone reading this will know where she is.

Paula Giese was at the National AIM office in St. Paul on October 11 when the phone calls started coming in about the murder. Her phone log of that day's activity was confiscated by Doug Durham, although she still has a copy. She drafted a press statement which said, in summary, "We don't really know what happened there. Here is the information we have from the authorities so far. We support their right to a fair trial. AIM does not sponsor or condone this kind of thing, whoever did it."

Durham destroyed the press release, and ordered Giese to give out no information whatsoever. However, he himself was telling callers, "Well, the white men used to scalp Indians, and now we Indians are fighting back." Giese says she also heard him giving statements which identified the arrested persons as AIM members. He implied that AIM was gethering up an army to come to California to free them. He told various AIM members that they should go to the scene. In the press clippings of these days, Durham is identified as "a spokesman from National AIM." From Los Angeles, a somewhat similar but much milder line was handed out by George Roberts, identifying himself as AIM National Press Secretary."

So, in the initial press coverage, the murder and the camp are firmly tied to AIM. The camp sign helped – no television station nor newspaper could resist showing it prominently.

The elements of the murder seemed calculated to play upon every secret fear of white America. Was this by chance?

Durham wrote a number of memos to Dennis Banks about the "Camp 13 murder". Durham told Paula Giese to stay off the case, and moved the "crisis communications" into his apartment. The first of the memos is initialed "VK" – probably for Veronica Keene, a woman who had been sent for by Durham himself, who used AIM funds to buy her a prepaid plane ticket.

Veronica Keene is a woman in her late twenties or early thirties, with blondish hair dyed black, blue eyes, rimless glasses, 5'4", slender, pointed chin, pale complexion. She lists herself as a Choctaw. She had some kind of relationship with Durham before she arrived, from Louisiana, in St. Paul at the WKLDOC office around February, 1974. Some of the older AIM women say that she was asked to leave for removing "security files" from the AIM office around March, 1974.

Veronica "Raven Hawk" Keene may just be a woman Durham fooled and used, as he did with many. Or there could be other implications. But Durant and Mohawk's life could depend upon information she has, and they are hoping that she comes forward with information. The Wisconsin Abbey defendants also could be helped by her knowledge of Durham's activities.

Then there is Virginia Deluce, an elderly former actress, who gave testimony harmful to Durant and Mohawk at the Grand Jury. Deluce says she was given the name "Blue Dove" by Mad Bear Anderson on Alcatraz – but FBI documents obtained through discovery motions list her as an FBI informer. Blue Dove has a penchant for young Indian men. She is known to have shot two native people in a lover's quarrel involving a printing press. Her long hair is dyed jet black, and she has been active in the Indian Actors' Workshop and In Navajo Country. She is said to be the author of a book, *Life Among the Navajo*. "An informer?" a person who knew her said. "I always thought she was just weird."

Her relationship with Durham, and her role in the Camp 13 case, is not yet fully known.

Durham was also in Phoenix when Durant and Mohawk were arrested. After Phoenix, Durham went to Los Angeles – stopping over in Las Vegas for a few days. Durham and others caused trouble within Los Angeles AIM, disrupted national AIM communications, and then Doug testified at a preliminary hearing for Paul Durant on December 3, 1974.

Durant says Durham introduced himself to the court as an Ohio psychotherapist. This was under oath. It would be hard to believe that Durham's identity as an FBI undercover agent would not be known to the authorities – he had all kinds of contacts in Los Angeles even before he had taken his role with AIM – contacts in organized crime (gambling, heroin) and some with the Los Angeles Police Department.

Furthermore, he had frequent contacts with the LAPD and other California authorities during 1974, because they were trying to trap Patty Hearst, and there was the thought that there might be some slight SLA/AIM connection – after all, the SLA had named AIM as one of the groups to monitor food distribution.

But Durham's use as a "psychotherapist" is interesting in another way. In the past, Durant has been in mental institutions, and his court-appointed attorney may have been laying the groundwork for an insanity defense. So here was "Dr. Durham" right in the heart of the defense camp, in a position to spy on it, disrupt it, or guide it. If Durham had anything to do with the murder itself, it was the ideal place to be.

But to really get at the possibility of a conspiracy against AIM and all Indian people, not to mention Durant, Mohawk, and the murdered cabby, the whole history of the "AIM Camp 13" has to be examined.

In October of 1973, George Roberts of Los Angeles arranged a rental for AIM of a camp located in Box Canyon in Ventura County, north of Los Angeles. Paula Giese says that on the day following the murder, Roberts told her there was a written "AIM lease" – Durant says to his knowledge there was no lease, nor was any rent paid by them. The Box Canyon area is bleak badlands, a favorite place for Hollywood to make cowboys-and-injun movies. The Spahn Ranch, where the Manson Family lived at the time of the Tate-LaBianca murders, is just down the road. And Box Canyon has been used from time to time to dump Los Angeles murder victims.

In fact, George Aird's murder was not the first at the camp. Formerly, the camp was occupied by a religious cult called "Fountain of the World", which was composed of real Indians – from India, led by a swami named Krishna Venta. In 1958, a couple of angry followers blew up their Swami and the main camp building. The trustees of the camp were happy to lease it out again, and the Red Wind group led by Grandfather Semu Huaute briefly occupied the place before moving on to happier lands.

George Roberts paid the October rent. November and December of 1973 were covered by Los Angeles AIM, which George had just helped to incorporate under California law. In late 1973, there were numerous South Dakota people staying at the camp, for rest and rehabilitation before the Wounded Knee trials began. But on January 1, 1974, most of them departed for the St. Paul trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks, or for their own trials in South Dakota.

Los Angeles AIM decided not to continue paying the rent – it was too far from the L.A. Indian community to be very useful. However, some non-AIM people continued to stay on. Three of them are interesting.

First, there is Bob Morgan, who says he is an Oneida from Wisconsin. Morgan became active, after Wounded Knee, at the WKLDOC office in Rapid City. Eventually, he was run out of South Dakota because of the general belief that he was some kind of agent – he threatened to burn down the WKLDOC office, did burn or try to burn some legal files, and did beat up Madonna Gilbert's mother. In the fall of 1973, Russell Means warned Los Angeles AIM that Morgan had been seen in the area and should be considered an agent.

But in 1974, after the AIM people had left the camp to a few stay-behinds with no place else to go, Bob Morgan showed up. He established himself as a "leader" – some say a "dictator" or a "tyrant". At one point, L.A. AIM members considered "cleaning out the camp". It had become a crash place for drugs and alcohol, and although the AIM people would go there from time to time to hold spiritual ceremonies to try to straighten people out, nothing worked. But Morgan informed them he had made his own rental arrangements with the owners, and AIM members had no legal rights to remove the people there. So the camp rocked on under Morgan's "leadership".

Meanwhile, Durham had begun to lay the groundwork for discrediting AIM. He told several persons in the AIM office in early 1974, "A man has given AIM some land in the California Hills for a training camp, if you know what I mean." He had a card typed up with the camp's address and phone on it put into the "security files". Other cards were made listing a name, and giving the Box Canyon address – none of these persons were residing at Box Canyon, and two were board members of L.A.'s incorporated AIM chapter. The third is a person that Durham has recently admitted he wanted to entrap because the feds thought he was running guns from Mexico for AIM. There is the possibility that these three were being slated for possible future frame-ups.

The people actually living at the camp called themselves AIM when they were raising money. They established a bad reputation for AIM. Although many area residents noted the camp had gone through some changes, it was still considered to be "AIM" by some California Indian people and most local residents. "They used to be real friendly people about a year ago [October, 1973]," some local people observed. "Then a bunch of rowdy ones came in and terrorized the others, who moved away."

Two of the "terrorizers" seem to have been Robin Louis Black Cloud, also known as David Cloud West, 20, from the Plains, and Leonard Rising Sun, also known as Clinton Jerome Rising Sun, or Red Sun, age 26, of Turtle Mountain, North Dakota. On October 8, two days before the murder, these two men committed a torture robbery in the Box Canyon area. A local resident, Herrell A. Wood, 49, was knifed and stabbed with a four-foot fishing gaff.

It might be possible to say that these were simply two "hard cases". But there seems more to the story. The pair were found guilty, and Black Cloud was remanded to California juvenile authorities. Rising Sun received five years probation after the Sacramento area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs intervened in his case. Philip Swain of that office visited him in prison August 5, 1975. Earlier, the district attorney had recommended probation. On August 27, Swain wrote to Judge Donald A. Pollack that the BIA understood Rising Sun was under consideration for release: "It is recommended that he be turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs program for training in his future endeavors. Our office is willing to assist him with the following services: financial assistance while in school, to include monies for transportation, food, housing, and clothing. Upon completion of training, assistance in locating a job."

This solicitude on the part of the BIA is astonishing. The records of his days in court are sealed. So here we have Rising Sun and Black Cloud convicted of a notorious and brutal crime, robbery in the first degree with intent to commit injury. The torture robbery was closely connected with the "AIM Camp of Brutal Drug-Crazed Murderers" and a sensationalistic atmosphere of fear and hostility were created. Normally, the BIA takes little or no interest in Indian prisoners – certainly there has been no interest in Durant and Mohawk. Could their crime have been instigated to create an atmosphere of sensationalism?

Another person who got five years probation was Marvin Wayne Red Shirt, on a negotiated reduction from a first degree murder charge. Red Shirt's records are also sealed and cannot be inspected. However, it is known an immunity agreement was filed, immunity from prosecution for crimes he may have committed, in exchange for testimony against Durant and Mohawk. He was released on his own recognizance on January 30, and on July 15, his sentence was set at five years probation.

Red Shirt is now a student at El Camino College in California .

Several weeks before the murder, some L.A. AIM people visited the camp. They reported that large amounts of drugs and alcohol had been brought in. Articles published after the death stated that some of the booze had been the gift of Daid Carradine, TV star of "Kung Fu", who buddied around with Lee War Lance, one of the two arrested in L.A. right after the murder, but released later without charges. Carradine was a friend of Doug Durham's – stayed in his St. Paul apartment at least once, and maybe more. Remembered by many people in St. Paul is his stay two weeks before the murder when he supplied "refreshments" for Durham's birthday party on September 26.

And so the list of coincidences continues. Perhaps it is also a coincidence that the 1975 Rockefeller Commission Report on the Central Intelligence Agency lists the American Indian Movement as number 5 on the CIA's list of over 1,000 targets for its illegal domestic "Operation CHAOS"?

"Chaos" – a Greek word with several meanings. One is "a confused mass of items hard to distinguish or interpret." Another meaning is "a state of utter confusion, a process calculated to destroy order and orderly life." AIM Camp 13 operation fits both.

* * * * *

Since they were picked up in October, 1974, Paul Durant Sky Horse and Richard Mohawk have sat in the Ventura County Prison – that's a year and a half now. They had as court-appointed counsel Andrew Marsh and Fred Cosmo, attorneys that have not been satisfied with and wish to dismiss. Just recently, the two defendants were appointed "advisory counsels."

Most needed are capable investigators to help gather up the evidence. Some funds have been authorized by the court. Both men distrust local investigators, who may have ties with local police.

Paula Giese, who has been gathering evidence for Durant and Mohawk, has tried to contact Durant's attorneys. She says Marsh didn't return the calls, even though his client is facing a mandatory death penalty if convicted. Giese says Cosmo did return the call, but expressed the belief that Durant was guilty, and that it was an "open and shut case" – and this is the attorney for the defense. He said he had not regarded the case as having any political implications.

And as for the "investigator" which Durant and Mohawk can hire, the amount allocated by the court is $500 – not much to investigate the possibility of a CIA conspiracy to commit murder.

The men are due to stand trial in May.

At one time, Durant was examined by a court psychiatrist, Dr. Von Dedenroth, to determine if he was sane to stand trial. Von Dedenroth told the court that the defendant was sane enough, but that he exhibited certain mental abnormalities. "Paul believes the CIA or feds are trying to implant a device in his head. That the authorities are trying to get him to turn against his people. That his mail, phone conversations, etc., are monitored. Paul is paranoid," the psychiatrist concluded.

Now, it seems, perhaps Paul Durant was in far greater touch with the realities in his life than anyone gave him credit for.

When Doug Durham travels giving his speeches to John Birch Society audiences, he talks a lot about Paula Giese, calling her a "big time Commie", giving out her home address in hopes of stirring up a cut-rate assassination. About all that, Giese says: "Right now, I'm in good health, and (I think) of sound mind, unsuicidal, and always look both ways before crossing the street. Durham – I know you read AKWESASNE NOTES. Why not come forward and save these two men."

And she appeals to other NOTES readers: "The information to unravel this web must come from the people who have it. So, NOTES readers, search your memories and files – any scrap of information could be important, not only to Paul and Richard, but to who knows how many others?" My address is:

Paula Giese
2104 Kenwood
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55405
telephone (612) 374-2833

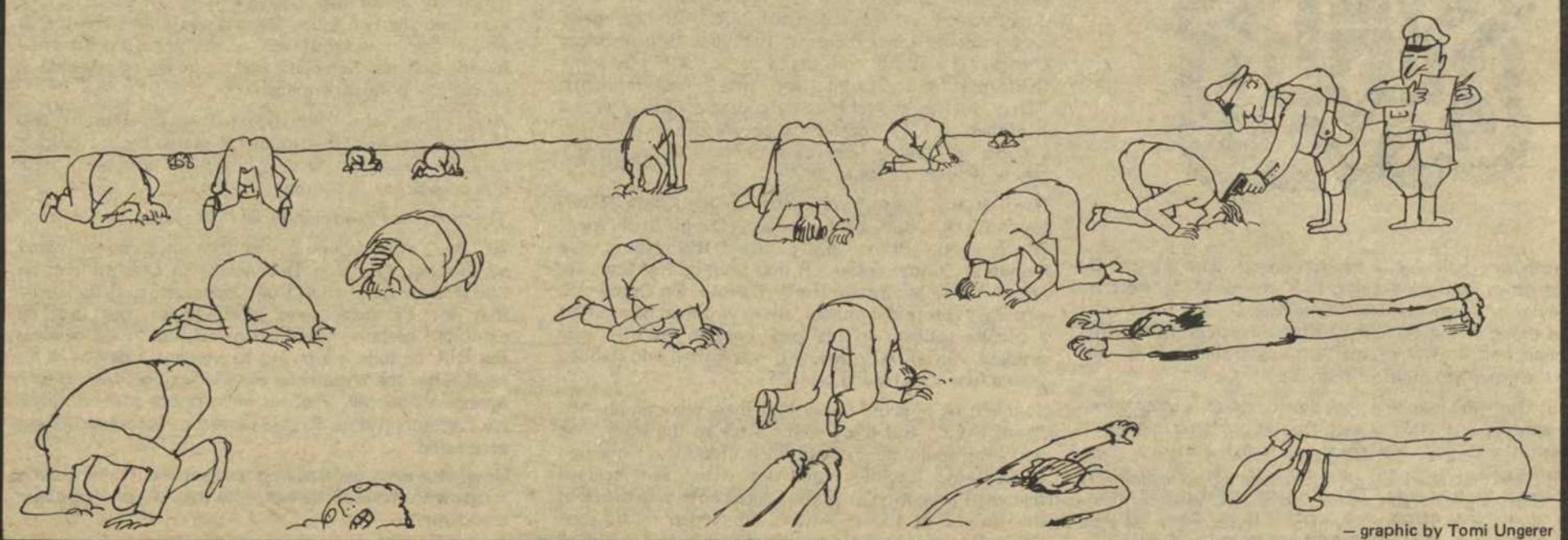
Anyone with relevant information, or who could help with funds, investigative support, or legal assistance, is invited to come forward. Durant and Mohawk face the gas chamber in what is a test of a new law to re-establish the death penalty.

A trial date of May 24 has been set, and the court has indicated it wouldn't be happy with another postponement. Assistance can be sent to:

Sky Horse/Mohawk Legal Defense Fund
POBox 26332
Los Angeles, California 90026

PINE RIDGE - 1976

(. . . and it's coming soon to your hometown — watch for it!)



— graphic by Tomi Ungerer

Pine Ridge, Lakota Nation

On January 27, Dick Wilson was finally ousted as tribal chairman in the regular bienniel election. Albert Trimble, an Oglala who was a Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent at Pine Ridge until Wilson forced his removal, defeated Wilson 1610 to 1079.

The monitoring of the election by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service is credited with keeping the election honest. The last election was described by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission as "permeated with fraud". In that election, Russell Means of AIM was narrowly defeated by Wilson. But the Commission's report was not released until a year later, and its recommendations for a new election were ignored. A lawsuit to overturn that 1974 election is finally due to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court — a bit too late to be of much use.

Means had been declared ineligible to run in this year's election after a Wilson challenge that he was a "non-resident." Means has spent most of the past two years facing trial in a dozen different courtrooms, and the ineligibility ruling was handed down just late enough to make protest impossible.

Wilson had blocked four impeachment attempts against him in his first year of office (1972-73). This finally led to the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization calling in the American Indian Movement to go to the village of Wounded Knee to publicly expose conditions on the reservation. There they demanded the ouster of Wilson, and the reinstatement of Sioux treaty rights.

For quite a time, the U.S. Government gave Wilson plenty of backing. But as he became more and more emboldened with power and his actions became outrageous even to his supporters, there was a cooling in affection.

Wilson implemented his activities through a reign of terror conducted by his "goon squad" — a term used even by its members. Wilson paid his private army with federal money. At least thirty of his opponents have been killed since he came to power in 1972. Since his term of office doesn't expire until April, the goon squad had several months to intensify its activities in a last, violent orgy.

However, indications are that the goon squad will be a continuing problem with guns and ammunition coming in from ultra-rightwing groups.

Al Trimble was appointed as BIA superintendent shortly after the Wounded Knee occupation ended. Wilson approved. But when Trimble started to be impartial, refusing to harass Wilson's opponents, or to allow Wilson a totally free hand, Wilson had him removed on orders straight from Washington, and he was sent off to a useless job in Albuquerque.

During the election campaign, Trimble charged *Wilson's administration with "mismanagement" and "ripoffs". He said that his first priorities would be* "solutions to the problems of land use, housing and law enforcement." Trimble is far from radical or traditional, but many AIM people backed him wholeheartedly as an honest man to replace Wilson.

Agnes Lamont, a Pine Ridge activist whose son was killed at Wounded Knee in 1973, noted that Wilson was making last minute efforts to provide goon squad members with new houses. She said that while she hoped Trimble would bring in some progressive changes, the real campaign for the future would be to "get rid of the Tribal Government system altogether. That system was established by the U.S. in the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act which ignores traditional governmental structures.

Under Wilson's rule, the U.S. Government has been pouring $24-million annually into his administration. This provides a system of patronage for the 900 jobs available — on a reservation with 70% unemployment.

Trimble is considered to be a marked man. Should anything happen to him, the man who would succeed as president would be the newly-elected vice president, Johnson Holy Rock, active in the John Birch Society, and a Wilson supporter.

Wilson has said he will remain involved in politics, and will probably run again in two years. It is unlikely that his goon squad will be dormant in the meantime.

Wilson has branded Trimble as "another conspiracy by the government to take over the tribe."

Despite Trimble's victory, the Wilson terror machine still ran unabated. In the week following Wilson's January 27 defeat, two AIM members were murdered — one was shot, and the other found dead after a brutal beating.

Since then, there have been five other violent deaths, including a 15-year-old Oglala woman. The most intense violence erupted during one 24-hour period in the tiny village of Wanblee, whose 500 residents supported Trimble by a 3-1 margin.

The Saturday following the election, 15 Wilson supporters drove into Wanblee. They wore bullet-proof vests — U.S. government-issued — and carried sophisticated weaponry, such as AR-15 police automatic rifles. Included was Glenn Three Stars, acknowledged to be at the top of the goon squad roster. The small private army situated themselves in the home of a Wilson supporter.

The goon squad began shooting at the home of Guy Dull Knife. When he called police for protection, the police instead arrested him and his wife on a minor charge which had occurred two years earlier. They did *nothing about those who had been shooting at the Dull* Knife house.

During this time, Byron DeSersa and another visitor to the home were helping to get the older people out of the house to safety. Although DeSersa's lawfully-registered gun didn't have any shells, police confiscated the weapon before they left the house.

Within hours, the same assailants were involved in DeSersa's murder.

On that same violent Saturday afternoon, Amelia LaMont was threatened by Wilson-supporter Chuckie Richards, who held a gun to her throat and said if he couldn't kill her husband, he would kill her. Some of his friends dragged him away. But later, several men came from Richards' house and shot at Richard Lee LaMont, Amelia's husband, as he drove off with some friends. About ten minutes later, LaMont was describing these two events to BIA Police Officer Gerald Brown when the same men came from Richard's house and began firing on him again.

"You'd better get out of here — those men are shooting at you," Brown told LaMont, who was standing in his own yard.

Brown and three more police cars then left the scene.

This Saturday, Wanblee was the site of an eight-team basketball tournament. The players had a powwow scheduled for that evening, but it was cancelled because of the gunfire.

The BIA police officer-in-charge at this time was Hobart Atsitty, who is known to be a Wilson supporter. That meant Wilson's people were able to operate freely. Dull Knife's home was firebombed, as was the home of Richard Lee Lamont, situated right next to the home of Richard Lee Lamont, situated right next to the house where the Wilson men were situated.

Bryon DeSersa left Wanblee for a community meeting

in Potato Creek, some 15 miles west. Not knowing the powwow had been called off, he and three friends headed back to Wanblee. On their way, about ten miles out of town, they met up with four or five cars loaded with Wilson supporters, who chased the DeSersa car to within a mile of Wanblee.

Five people were riding in the car with DeSersa. As a large black car with two CB antennas caught up with DeSersa's car on a long curve about a mile south of Wanblee, three shots rang out. All three hit DeSersa in the leg. The car rolled into the ditch, and the attackers jumped out of their cars to chase those who had been with DeSersa. They shouted, "This will teach you to fool around with us!"

The pursuit prevented DeSersa from getting immediate medical attention. When friends got him to the Wanblee clinic, he was already unconscious from loss of blood from the large holes blasted in his leg, and before they could get him to the Pine Ridge hospital 85 miles distant, he was dead.

Throughout the night, there was gunfire at the housing. Residents couldn't get from their cars to their houses as they arrived home — stray bullets were hitting all over.

Two FBI men came out to investigate the shooting, although there are hundreds of FBI men assigned to the Pine Ridge area. The FBI talked around for an hour, and then left.

The BIA police said they couldn't make any arrests, although DeSersa's assailants were well known. The police pleaded that they didn't have sufficient manpower, although there were eight squad cars and two vans on duty in the tiny village at the time.

Local residents believe DeSersa was the victim of a conspiracy, either directly or indirectly. That Saturday morning, the Wilson stronghold was visited by the sheriff of Padoka, a nearby white town situated just on the border of the reservation. And the day before the shooting, despite the tensions of the election, the head of the Pine Ridge BIA police decided to take a trip to Denver, Colorado, leaving no one effectively in charge of the force.

Although the surviving occupants of DeSersa's car identified the chase vehicles to the FBI, the agents said they lacked "probable cause" to make arrests.

"The FBI has been obsessed with tracking down AIM during the current wave of violence, while overlooking the needs of the traditional Sioux for protection against harassment by Wilson's goon squads," says Al Trimble.

Byron's father, whose own home was firebombed during the occupation of Wounded Knee, is seeking a grand jury investigation of his son's death. He charges that the FBI is already coaching the persons responsible for the slaying in how to handle their testimony. The family is also upset because the local American Legion Post at Manderson, South Dakota, refused to give Byron, a Vietnam Veteran, a military funeral.

DeSersa's *Crazy Horse News* pressed for further investigations into the slaying. It said that Glenn Three Stars, Lonnie Bettelyoun, Billy Wilson, Chuck Richards, Bobby Richards, Tibbi Kocer, in addition to Charles Winters, was involved in some manner or other. Yet, it wondered, why was Winters the only one arrested? It charges that the BIA police and FBI are implicated, if not in the slaying, then in the cover-up.

Eagle Nest district leaders collected seven signed sworn statements identifying all those who took part in the violence, all of them known members of Wilson's goon squad, and most of them from Pine Ridge village. However, the FBI and BIA police have refused to take action. In fact, when outraged Wanblee residents got together and gave the goons until sundown to get out of their community, they were escorted from Wanblee to Pine Ridge by the police!

Despite the evident police under-reaction, the United Press International played it up big. "FBI and Pine Ridge Indian Reservation authorities swarmed over the reservation trying to find the killer," reports read in distant cities. "FBI and BIA spokesmen Sunday said they had no suspects."

The police reaction to DeSersa's death was in sharp contrast to the reaction when two white men — FBI agents — were killed at Pine Ridge last June 26. Those deaths brought an invasion of 300 law enforcement personnel within hours, and an intensive investigation was conducted lasting for four months.

At first, police said they did not have sufficient manpower to go to the goon house — and yet there were eight police cars and two police vans, equipped with SWAT squad weaponry.

The stories coming from BIA officials were conflicting. BIA acting superintendent Wayne Adkinson told a Wanblee delegation that only one man had been arrested because they couldn't find anyone to question. But BIA Special Officer Glenn Little Bird said that 23 persons had been questioned. The Wanblee people told Adkinson the suspects were walking the streets of Pine Ridge in broad daylight.

Adkinson also claimed that there was no need to worry about more violence because police from other reservations were called in so they would not be influenced by what he termed "local politics." Little Bird, however, named those assisgned to protect the people of Wanblee — all were reservation residents, and several were related to people whom witnesses identify as participants in the weekend attacks. Ski Jacobs, for instance, headed the investigation force from Pine Ridge on February 1 — one of his close relatives was riding in the car from which Byron DeSersa was shot and killed.

The BIA has refused to deputize local Wanblee people to defend their community.

Only one person was arrested. Charles David Winters, one of the few Wanblee residents involved in the violent activities, admitted to the FBI and BIA police that he fired the shots which killed DeSersa. He was arrested February 2, but as late as mid-March, he was the only person charged in the slaying.

A grand jury has been called to investigation, but experience is that persons who wish to identify those who committed the crimes are instead interrogated by the grand jury about their own activities with AIM. Indictments are then handed down to the complaintants.

* * * * *

On October 25, BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson announced in a press release that "Indian communities and individuals would have an extended period of time to submit comments on proposed law enforcement standards for Indian reservations." Commissioner Thompson was quoted as saying he wanted to "encourage Indian people to express their views on these rules which will govern a basic service program in their communities.

* * * *

One of the persons arrested in Oregon during the motor home incident was Annie Mae Aquash, who also had been arrested in September in the massive raid on Crow Dog's Paradise. On February 24, the FBI reported it had identified a body found seven miles northeast of Wanblee as Annie Mae.

She was taken to the Scottsbluff, Nebraska, coroner — the same coroner who had examined the body of Pedro Bissonette after he was shot by BIA police, and whose official autopsy absolving the police of blame varied considerably from versions of the shooting pieced together by other investigators. As far as Annie Mae's death was concerned, he said, she died of "exposure" some 10 to 14 days earlier.

Her body remained in the morgue for another ten days or so before it was buried in an unmarked grave in Holy Rosary Cemetery. The only thing was, the body wasn't complete: her hands had been cut off and sent to FBI headquarters in Washington.

Only after Annie Mae's body was safely buried did the FBI notify her family — her husband in Minnesota, her parents in Nova Scotia. When friends heard of her death, they immediately got a forensic pathologist to agree to enter the case, and a court order was obtained to release the body to the custody of Bruce Ellison, an attorney with Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee for a new autopsy.

The new autopsy, by an eminent examiner, shows that Annie Mae Aquash was shot in the back of the head, behind her ear, at close range, probably with a .32 or .38-caliber weapon.

Now, an embarrassed and exposed FBI is trying to cover its tracks.

Reburial was scheduled for the land of Wallace Little, right near where Little Joe Stuntz was buried after his untimely death last June 26, a day of violence in which two FBI agents were also killed.

Annie Mae Aquash had been involved with the native movement for some time. One of her dreams was to establish a People's History of the Land, with research teams all over the continent scouring libraries and newspaper clippings and the memories of local people for information on the true story of native nations.

The Grievances Over Land Use

One of the main political forces in South Dakota are ranchers who use Indian lands to make their livelihood and their fortunes. Native people see the ranchers become richer and richer, while they become poorer and poorer. The main agent of exploitation is the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

By various means, the BIA often gets power-of-attorney from landowners which permits it to lease land in common with other tribal and allotted lands without having to get the consent of the landowners. The Bureau packages land into range units without consideration to the individual landowners, and any complaints are blocked by pointing to the power-of-attorney.

The cycles of poverty have become so deeply ingrained that oftentimes an owner of a block of land has no funds to use that land, but instead must rent it out to someone else who can muster the financial backing to put the land to "productive use".

The BIA hears the complaints often enough. As an in-house report prepared for the BIA says, "A litany of negative evaluations of the system, its misuse, and abuse, is recited at nearly every meeting with the Indian Landowners Association and with individual owners apart from the Association. The users of their land, under the grazing permit format, are the subjects of much bitter complaint. Owners specifically report the following: over-grazing or other abuse of the land; insufficient lease rental; personal dislike of the permittee; payment of fees through the BIA rather than to owners directly; permitees deny owners use of their [own] land for residence purposes, for hunting, or for the gathering of firewood; the inability of the owner to negotiate with the user for loans or advances on lease money."

Under these circumstances, owners don't feel like owners.

The regulations allow Indian middlemen to gain the use of land through bid preference, and then sublease it out to others at a higher price than he paid the actual owner. Sometimes Indians will be used as front-men by white ranchers. An Indian will show that he "owns" cattle, and thus gets non-competitive preference in the use of Indian land. But he agrees to turn the calf crop over to the owner-in-fact. The actual landowner, in the meantime, must helplessly watch two other parties profit from the use of his land, and is prevented by BIA regulations from doing anything about it.

Fees for land use are now so low that the tribal council itself faces the real danger of not being able to meet payments on massive land-purchase loans that are falling due.

"Both the BIA and the Tribal Administration must accept responsibilities for the violations or non-conformity to either regulations or the spirit of the intent," the special report notes. "The current conditions are the result of many years of neglect or outright corruption."

The report — which has yet to be released publicly or acted upon — recommends banning sales of land to Indians who have records of selling land out from under trust status, that is, to non-Indian owners.

One white land-user controls nearly 55,000 acres, more than all the land of the fullbloods combined. This is one example of a statistically true fact: the higher the degree of Indian blood, the less likelihood there is that that person will become a land user. The lower the degree of Indian blood, the higher the probability that that person will become a land user.

Over 80% of all land sold is to Indians of less than 1/2 degree of Indian ancestry. Persons of lesser degrees of Indian ancestry are usually the ones who are least handicapped in U.S. society by their Indianness. They are more readily served by banks and lending institutions. Yet they have the same preference rights as fullbloods — the advantages of living in two worlds.

[continued on next page]

In this way, the Indian Financing Act is a cruel hoax to traditional peoples – their use or acquisition of land is blocked by policies that favor persons who have some Indian ancestry, but who are mostly white.

That creates special problems – those Indians who buy the most land are those who have the least allegiance to the tribe and its best interests. They do not hesitate to shrink the tribal land base if it will turn them a profit.

The system is also set up to force and encourage traditional people to sell their lands. There is little incentive to keep the land – income is so small it doesn't provide an acceptable level of subsistence, and in fact, it often makes them ineligible to participate in assistance programs. And since the BIA controls every and all decisions connected with the land, the temptation to sell becomes powerful.

Since all of this is part of a trend – persons of low Indian ancestry selling land to persons of even lower Indian ancestry – in a very short time Oglala land will be overwhelmingly controlled and owned by "Indians" who are less than 1/32 degree of Indian ancestry.

Russell Means' Four-Year Sentence Appealed

Russell Means, Oglala, and a leader of the American Indian Movement, was sentenced to four years in prison on December 31 on charges of rioting in the Sioux Falls, South Dakota, court house.

The conviction was handed down December 15 by Judge Richard Braithwaite, who heard the case without a jury after Means waived his rights to a jury trial. He had questioned over 100 prospective jurors, and was unable to obtain an impartial panel.

Earlier, Judge Braithwaite had dismissed co-defendants of Means when it became apparent it would be impossible to find an impartial jury. The local press heavily criticized the judge for that move. Thus when Means came to trial a few months later, in August, 1975, and as weeks dragged on with more and more jurors being dismissed because of prejudice, Braithwaite denied a defense move to throw the case out in a like manner.

However, contradicting his own precedent of a few months earlier, Judge Braithwaite insisted that the trial go on.

After seven weeks of jury selection and 200 possible jurors and still no panel, Means decided to waive his rights to a jury trial to let the judge try the case.

The charges have a long history going back to January, 1973, a few weeks before the occupation of Wounded Knee. In that month, Wesley Bad Heart Bull was stabbed to death by a white businessman residing in Custer, South Dakota. On February 6, a large delegation went to the Custer Courthouse to demand that stiffer charges be brought against the assailant. There was a confrontation by native people and police. Some of the persons arrested in that battle were brought to trial in Sioux Falls in 1974.

While jury selection was in progress, a dispute developed between defense lawyers and Circuit Judge Joseph Bottum. Of the three defense attorneys, Bottum jailed for contempt the sole Indian of the three. In symbolic protest, spectators supporting the defendants refused to stand when the judge entered the courtroom.

The first time this happened was April 27, 1974, However, on April 30, when people again refused to stand, the judge left the room. Suddenly, two dozen members of the state tactical police squad, in riot gear, burst into the room and attacked the Indians in the courtroom, bypassing a visiting group of Lutheran church officials.

Russell Means was in that courtroom. At the same time, he was on trial for Wounded Knee charges in St. Paul, Minnesota.

A witness to the bloody brawl said that if Means was guilty of inciting a riot, "there would also have to be a ruling somewhere that Judge Bottum and the police were inciting a riot." The witness is not an "Indian militant" but a Lutheran bishop, who, with three colleagues and assistants, was in the courtroom April 30, 1974, when a riot broke out.

Means was convicted December 15 and was sentenced to four years in prison. In January, Judge Braithwaite decided to release Means on bail while he appeals his conviction. The appeal might be a year or more away, since 12,000 pages of trial records will have to be transcribed by the court reporter.

Bishop Archie Madsen of Denver, Colorado, told Dennis Cassano of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, that he and three other bishops – Bruno Schlachtenhaufen of Des Moines, Edward Hansen of Minnesota, and E.O. Gilbertson of Sioux Falls – had attempted to persuade Judge Bottum not to use force. They testified in Means' trial that Bottum had rejected their pleas, saying later, "They were asking for it, so I let them have it."

Judge Bottum says the bishops' description of the conversation was "far from the truth". He said the bishops were "sincere, but misguided."

Bishop Madsen noted that sending an armed tactical squad into the courtroom to tackle 15 Indian men who had been searched before they entered and thus could have no weapons was what he called "inciting a riot". He described how the 25 helmeted policemen trotted into the courtroom armed with yard-long riot sticks.

Bishop Schlachtenhaufen called the actions of the tactical squad "unnecessary". "It was simply something I had a hard time believing would happen. It's shocking."

Means has spent twelve of the last 24 months in courtrooms on a long list of state and federal charges. He faces six more trials, including a charge of murdering a man who told police before he died that it was not Means who shot him. Means is also charged with assault stemming from an incident last June when Means was shot in the back by the son of a police officer.

After studying the Means case, another Custer defendant, Robert High Eagle, decided there was no possible way he was going to get a fair trial, and decided to plead guilty by a sworn affidavit, rather than appear before what he called "Judge Wlds' Wild West Show. He noted he couldn't do much more than call the same witnesses Russell Means had called, and "the Means trial has proven to me that the testimonies of the tactical squad of Sioux Falls outweighs the testimonies of Indians, Attorneys, and Servants of God."

He was sentenced to two years in the South Dakota Penitentiary.

– AKWESASNE NOTES photos by Claus Biegart

Russell Means . . . six more trials to go

Other legal actions include that of Dave Hill and Russell Means, who still await trial for the Custer courthouse incident in February, 1973. Their attorneys are moving for dismissal on the grounds that the defendants have been denied a speedy trial – three years have elapsed since their arrests. That trial is before Judge Richard Jones in state court.

Paul Clifford Jr., was also charged with Custer crimes, although he had been arrested in his automobile on his way into town. He had been free until just recently, when he was arrested without warning. However, after he had been held for a week, charges against him were dismissed.

Still another trial is the one of Tom Poor Bear scheduled for Bismarck concerning the incident in which Russell Means was shot by a BIA police gun. Means' own trial as an accessory to murder will likely come up soon. Dick Marshall is charged in regard to the same incident.

Also sentenced were Curtis Bald Eagle and Ken Kane, given 3½ years for riot to obstruct justice. Edgar Bear Runner was acquitted on the same charge, although days later, he was arrested again in Gordon, Nebraska, where he faces new charges.

Ted Means was given 30 months, 12 of them suspended, and placed on four years probation with the condition that he have no involvement with the American Indian Movement. He was also ordered to repay the State of South Dakota $1,000 to cover the cost of his court-appointed attorney.

Meanwhile, Jimmy Eagle, 20; Robert Robideau, 29; Darelle Dean Butler, 33, await trial on charges that they murdered two FBI agents last June 26 at Oglala on the Pine Ridge reservation. A fourth person indicted, Leonard Pelletier, is being held in Vancouver, British Columbia, where he is fighting extradition to the United States.

Eagle is held without bail, and Butler and Robideau are held awaiting $250,000 bond. Robert Bryan of Birmingham, Alabama, Eagle's defense attorney, presented some 52 pre-trial motions for consideration by the federal court. Robideau wanted Jack Schwartz of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee to act on his behalf, but that motion was denied by Judge Andrew Bogue. Trial is set for April 19. One of the pre-trial motions is for change of venue away from the publicity-charged area, but Judge Bogue is expected to deny that motion.

Roubideau has maintained his innocence. He speaks bitterly about the atmosphere created by the media before his jury trial in Kansas where he was convicted of nine counts of Interstate Transportation of Weapons. The press had written darkly of assassination plots against the U.S. President and Vice-President, bombing plots, armed takeovers. A local Wichita law enforcement official had been quoted as saying that the Indians coming to Robideau's trial were "violent, dangerous, and armed."

"We are innocent [in the FBI slayings], and I know that many people know that we are innocent, also," Robideau said in a statement. "Yet we all know also that it is going to be a long hard struggle to victory in courtrooms with their continued masquerades of justice."
His trial, with the other defendants, is expected to start April 19.

Russell Redner, 29, and Kenneth Loud Hawk, 21, wil go on trial with Kamook Banks on May 12 for multiple charges of possession of firearms and explosives after they were arrested last fall near Ontario, Oregon. Their trial will be in federal court in Portland.

When Kamook applied to the court for permission to travel to California to be with Dennis, Assistant U.S. Attorney Tommy Hawk opposed the move, saying that she was going to San Francisco to be in company with another fugitive so they can commemorate an act of violence, the anniversary of the occupation of Wounded Knee. However, Judge Robert Belloni granted Kamook's request.

Police said they confiscated guns, ammunition, and dynamite from a station wagon following the motor home. Kenneth Loud Hawk, 21, of Pine Ridge, and Russell James Redner, 28, of Eureka, California, are being held on $55,000 bond, charged with harboring a fugitive – Banks – and possessing firearms. Kamook (Darlene Nichols) 20, Banks' wife, waived her right to removal from Oregon and was returned to Kansas where she was imprisoned on another explosives charge.

As *The Oregon Times Magazine* noted, "For a militant Indian like Russ Redner, life is full of ironies. How could he have imagined in 1965, when he was entering Santo Domingo with the 82nd Airborne, that he would one day confront his own commanders at Wounded Knee? And when, with the 101st Airborne, he was ordered to suppress Detroit's black ghetto, how could he have guessed that out of those riots would grow a program called "Garden Plot" for burying his own people? And while, as a teenager, he was living in the home of a white Eureka policeman, how could he have guessed that, many years later, on a cold November night in the Oregon desert, another white law enforcer would point a gun to his head and threaten to blow it off?"

Joanna LeDeaux is also still in jail, where she has been since last September 22 when she refused to testify to a federal grand jury on a matter of principle. She is likely to remain in prison until October. In the meantime, she will give birth to a child, there in the Yankton, South Dakota, prison.

She is refusing to testify before the grand jury about what she may have seen at the scene of the killings of the two FBI agents and Little Joe Kills Right last June 26. Judge Andrew Bogue gave her immunity from prosecution, but she stood solidly on the grounds that the Treaty of 1868 governs relations between the U.S. and the Lakota Nation, and that she was not obliged to testify.

Joanna LeDeaux says she really has nothing she could tell – she said she had no material evidence to give.

She had returned to Lakota Country only a few years ago from Denmark, where she had been married and attended the University of Copenhagen. Her two children, a boy 12, and a girl 9, are living with her parents in Sioux Falls.

LeDeaux said that she had been at Pine Ridge for about a year to research treaties and to help in legal work for the traditional peoples, before she was arrested.

She points out that since four men have already been indicted in the case, her testimony is no longer needed, and that she should be released. "I refuse to let them break my spirit in any way," she told reporters. "I will never allow myself to be used as a tool of United States repression against Indian People the way they have so

often used us against one another. I will continue to fight for Indian sovereignty and self-determination."

Recently, she was transferred from Yankton to Terminal Island, a federal prison for women in Southern California.

Persons desiring to petition for the release of Joanna LeDeaux should contact:

Free Joanna Committee
Gridley & Nasser
101 S. Main Ave. Suite 42-2
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57102

Herb Powless was convicted of federal charges of interstate transportation of firearms. The Milwaukee activist also faces state charges in the same incident. He was arrested in a set-up involving the van owned by FBI/CIA undercover operative Doug Durham.

* * * *

The chain of events goes on.

The two dead FBI men were supposed to be searching for Jimmy Eagle, who was wanted with some others for assaulting two young white ranch-hands. One of the others allegedly involved in that assault was Hobart Horse, but he was acquitted of those charges.

But now Hobart Horse is also dead of gunshot wounds. His murderers have not yet been discovered, and in fact, little investigation is being done.

That death in the first week of March was followed by the death of another young girl at Sharp's Corners. Her identity has not yet been learned.

There is worry about more violence to come. Planes have been seen landing at the Pine Ridge airport, and witnesses say at least two .30-caliber machine guns mounted on tripods, plus boxes of ammunition were unloaded and taken to the homes of known goons.

What has happened to the Little family is typical of Wilson's determination to keep a brutally-firm hand on things. His goon squad, which is paid with federal money, threw a molotov cocktail into the house of Richard Little on January 24 as the election neared and Wilson's defeat was anticipated. Brother Jimmy was beaten to death last autumn.

Other violence came to Jack Steele, the elected Wounded Knee district representative to the tribal council. He was severely beaten in broad daylight in front of the tribal "Law and Order" building in Pine Ridge by two white ranchers, Charles Merrill and Bud Merrill.

Although there were a half-dozen FBI agents in the Law and Order building at the time of the incident, plus tribal police, no one came to Steele's rescue, nor were any arrests made. Steele was hospitalized. Most of his teeth were kicked out.

Steele had been in Pine Ridge on business. He wanted to complain to BIA real estate officer Lawrence Heald that the Merrill's were running horses on his land. Steele says that he was told there wasn't anything the BIA could do about it, and that while he could call the Merrills, that could mean a lot of trouble for him. Fifteen minutes later, he was beaten by the Merrills.

Senator Abourezk, in a February 4 statement, declared that the "negligent" attitude of the BIA was "directly responsible" for DeSersa's death. He said that BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson had been "willfully ignoring" the lawlessness on the reservation in which at least 33 persons – almost all of them AIM supporters – were killed last year. He said Wilson had used his power over the last few years to build up a "personal empire".

Abourezk's son, who had lived quietly on Pine Ridge for two years, also had his place shot up, and then was ordered expelled from the reservation as "an undesirable" by Wilson.

Sure, it's three years after Wounded Knee and you're tired of being asked for funds. But the trials are grinding on, and the needs are as desperate as before. While the Government operates in comfort, the defense is scrounging for dimes to make a photocopy to file a brief. A new fund-raising office has been opened with volunteers, so send money to:

WKLDOC
POBox 4287
Omaha, Nebraska 68104
telephone (402) 551-2804

Lawyers are also needed to litigate cases and do research.

[With a general media black-out on the reign of terror on Pine Ridge, the task of a communications unit there becomes extra important. This letter to AKWESASNE NOTES describes some of the difficulties with which movement work has to contend – especially appalling when one considers the massive resources of the U.S. Government. This letter is from a communications worker who has been at Pine Ridge for some time now.]

The communications work has been severely limited because there's no legal worker out here, and I've been saddled with all that stuff.

Also, no good tape recorder to use has made things very hard.

Finally got the phone back in. Now the car is totally broken down. Just trying to get it patched up enough to trade for something that might hold up a bit better. The lack of transportation and phone has made it hard to stay close to events, but I'm trying.

[We don't have any means of financial support,] so if you can include some info on us and our address in the next issue, it would really be a help.

I'm staying at Jumping Bull's which is still without windows in two rooms, walls full of bullet holes, etc. [from the FBI attack last June 26].

Almost no money's coming in, and we have all kinds of needs and expenses. Hopefully I can get a recruitment effort going very soon, and get some help so more can get done.

Candy Hamilton
Oglala Communications Center
POBox 97
Oglala, South Dakota 57764
telephone (605) 867-5561

[Readers who can help with funds, a tape recorder, an automobile, or as a voluntary worker, should contact the Oglala Communications Center directly. The Editors.]

In the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, the credits for sources of information for the long article on Pine Ridge, Cable Splicer, Doug Durham, etc., was omitted by accident. We print it here:

[Thanks to Walrus Oakenbough and the Georgia Straight, Susan Abrams and The Boston Phoenix, Ray Riegert and Berkeley Barb,David Corkery & Peter Holden of Pacific News Service, and to Finlay Lewis of the Minneapolis Tribune for information contained in this section.]

[Special thanks to Ron Ridenhour and the New Times of Tucson, New Times of New York, and the Fund for Investigative Journalism for the Cable Splicer information. Thanks also to Robert F. Bryan, Patrick R. Oster and U.S News and World Report, T. Mitchell of Worker's World, The Bugle America, New York Times, Dave McKay of the Ottawa Journal, Liberation News Service, Harrisburg Independent Press, William Meyer of Indigena, John Conyers Jr. of the Congressional Black Caucus, American Indian Press Association, Jane Hamilton and the Green Bay Journal, Milwaukee Journal and Sam Martino, Milwaukee Sentinel, United Press International, Associated Press, WIN Magazine, Jack Getz of the Rapid City Journal, Tim Butz of CounterSpy, Dorothy Lewis of the St. Paul Pioneer Press, Robert S Boyd of the Akron Beacon-Journal Washington Bureau, Norman Kempster of the Washington Star, and Wayne Wangstad of the St. Paul Dispatch for information used in this section. More special thanks to Candy Hamilton and the Oglala Communications Center, and to many other friends who helped with this part of the paper.]

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PAPER

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs $5,000 and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc. will add almost $2,000 more – and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive. We are not funded by foundations, government, or universities.

Our money comes mostly in small donations from readers. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's how the Creation's cycles keep moving.
Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 358-4697

KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways – responsibilities, actually – readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

– take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.

– send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Philadelphia? Chicago? Milwaukee? Omaha? Santa Fe? Laramie? Spokane? Vancouver? Regina? New Zealand?

– send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request. You are the staff of NOTES.

– Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

– form a committee, or go by yourself, to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures, calendars. Tell them to write – or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared – and to you all, we are grateful.

– take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

– send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

– sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

– let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print – numbers 3, 4, and 5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3,4,5,6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) had five issues. All are still available.

Volume Eight's first issue is this edition, the 49th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Back issues cost 50 cents each. All available back issues can be obtained for $7.50 – that will be about seventeen of them as supplies hold.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS ISSUE

Extra copies of this issue are available for further distribution. We can send one copy or a hundred or more. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and is also helps to finance future issues. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each. You pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For $5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation or church group, for example. For $25, a 100 families could each receive a copy.

CROW DOG'S THIRD TRIAL

[Richard Erdoes, a photographer and writer, is a long-time friend of Leonard Crow Dog. In the Late Autumn issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, we carried his essay on Leonard Crow Dog's federal trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Crow Dog was placed on probation, much to the annoyance of the prosecution. Two weeks later, he was arrested again on other charges, and this time, a special judge was brought into South Dakota to hear the case in Pierre, the small white enclave which is the state capital. This essay by Richard Erdoes concerns Crow Dog's most recent trial, and we are grateful to him for sending it to us. The Editors.]

January, 1976. This is the third time within five months that I am present at a trial of Crow Dog. This case concerns an event of March 25, 1975. Crow Dog returned late at night to his home after having conducted some business in Pierre, ninety miles distant. He finds three total strangers who have made themselves comfortable in his home, saying they have come to see the medicine man, and that "the Great Spirit had sent them."

The men are non-Indians. They have drugs with them. They have been drinking. One of them, Royer Pfersick, makes a crude pass at Mary, Crow Dog's wife, in full sight of everybody. Crow Dog tells him: "This is my home, a medicine man's home. You can't do this here." Pfersick answers, "Who the hell are you telling me what to do?" He hits Crow Dog and splits his lip. A relative and a visitor take Crow Dog's part, and Pfersick is finally thrown out after a free-for-all.

But it was Pfersick who filed charges. The visitor who aided Crow Dog has already been sentenced to prison. The charge is assault and battery with a *dangerous weapon – a "tomahawk" and the chain from a chain saw.*

Right from the beginning, the trial takes on a certain unreal, Kafkaesque quality – "You who enter here, leave all hope behind." Judge Robert Merhige has been brought in from Virginia, some say assigned to the case by the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. He is perched high above the rest of mankind on a sort of three-tiered dias, enjoying a birdseye view of the world below, a world entirely in his power. When he wishes, he can ooze charm, generally directed toward the jury and the prosecutor. Crow Dog's defense lawyer, Dan Taylor of Louisville, Kentucky, gets the venom – he is constantly rushed and held up to ridicule.

As the trial unrolls, one is overwhelmed by the tremendous power of this little man who directs the trial from his lofty perch like a conductor rushing through an accelerated polka in record time. One feels absolutely powerless as he conducts his mad dance in a Napoleon-like manner.

Like the Pope, the judge is infallible. In fact, at one time during the trial, he tells Dan Taylor, "I never make an error."

The first few minutes of the trial are spent berating Dan Taylor for appearing late. He scolds him as a teacher might a wayward twelve-year-old found smoking in the bathroom. Taylor points out that a blizzard stranded him overnight in Denver, that all planes were grounded. But the judge's wrath is not turned away.

The defense has had no time to prepare the case, and no time will be granted. It is quickly impressed upon us that the happy days of St. Paul and the atmosphere of Judge Fred Nichol's courtroom are gone forever. There will never be another St. Paul.

The defense goes through the motion of making motions. It asks for a continuance of the trial, for more time. Motion denied! There has been enough time already, the court says. Did Crow Dog not have a court-appointed lawyer, appointed weeks ago? It did not matter that the court-appointed lawyer is a campaign manager for AIMphobic state attorney general William Janklow, or that he enjoys playing pinochle with the prosecutor, or that he advised Crow Dog to plead guilty and throw himself on the mercy of the court.

Taylor asks that the case be dismissed for insufficient evidence. Motion denied! Vital witnesses can be brought in, Taylor says – they can be here in 24 hours. There has been enough time, the court says. Taylor explains that some are seasonal workers, without permanent addresses, whose whereabouts have just been discovered. Motion denied!

– photo by Kevin Barry McKiernan

Leonard Crow Dog in Wounded Knee, 1973 . . . now 50 pounds lighter in prison

The judge has already judged and sentenced Crow Dog before, only a few weeks previously, in an almost identical case. The defense thus asks that the judge should excuse himself. Motion denied!

Here comes the prosecutor, R.D. Hurd, the Government's specialist and hatchet-man in Indian cases. At Cedar Rapids, he sported a spiffy checkered jacket and canary-yellow pants. This time it is his pants which are checkered, and he has a nifty wine-colored jacket. He has grown a beard since his days in St. Paul trying Dennis Banks and Russell Means. He was a flop in St. Paul, but his kind of act still plays in South Dakota, especially in Rapid City. Hurd is sleepy and bored, unless he himself is in action. He slumps in his chair and treats us to gargantuan yawns.

Here comes the jury, a "jury of peers". But this jury is grotesquely lily-white and red-neck. They look upon Crow Dog as a creature from another planet. The defense is not allowed to question the prospective jurors, as the judge, from the wisdom in his heart, does it all. "Are you prejudiced?" "No." "You're in." We have a jury in no time.

The judge's bags stand packed. He will not miss his plane back to his native roost in Virginia.

The Government's star witness is none other than Royer Pfersick himself. Eyewitnesses of the events of March 25 describe him as unkempt, bearded. Behold him now – he is clean-shaven, his hair beautifully set, his hands manicured, his clothes even more stylish than Beau Hurd's. Believe it or not, he has a necktie composed of American flag patterns. The jury likes him.

He told of how he had been brutalized by the Injuns. The jury is fascinated. Their nightmares spawned by their own guilt has come to life.They see themselves tomahawked and scalped in their sleep. Hurd shows some photographs purporting to show the damage done to Pfersick. There is blood to be seen on the photo in Pfersick's face. Dan Taylor wets his finger and wipes the "blood" off. It seems to be ketchup. Wherefore comest thou, ketchup? Only Hurd knows.

Besides the man with the patriotic necktie, the Government produces two more eye witnesses against Crow Dog – two white women, unbidden guests, the kind who turn up unexpectedly at a medicine man's house wanting to see the native swami or guru. "I heard you guys got some Payotee – can I have some, chief?" Crow Dog has had more than his share of male and female groupies. They have wrecked his place, run up debts in his name at the store, interrupted his life – but how does a medicine man deal with the problem of unwanted guests?

One of these witnesses, Jean Talliaferro, seems reluctant to testify against Crow Dog. Now and then she slips in a good word for him. "Crow Dog is a good man, a peaceful man, a great man." "I never saw Crow Dog strike a blow." So why does she testify against Crow Dog? To save their own necks from something?

During a recess, after cross-examination, Dan Taylor winks at me and smiles. He has demolished the hostile witnesses, destroyed their credibility, caught them up in contradictions. He feels pretty good. "Even a jury like this," he says, "couldn't convict a man on this kind of cockamaimie evidence." Dan hails from Louisville and made a reputation defending Blacks. But he doesn't know South Dakota.

Crow Dog does. He leans over the barrier and whispers to me: "Another five years."

It is now my turn to testify, not as an eyewitness, but to give background. I want to talk, from first hand experience, about the harassment that native people are exposed to from unwanted intruders, of the danger of violence and death which threatens all Indians who live in South Dakota and who have been at Wounded Knee. I start by saying that in June, 1975, at Rosebud, when I was riding in a car with Crow Dog, someone took a potshot at him from another moving vehicle. I say that Crow Dog's sister, Delphine, was murdered not so long ago, as far as the family knows, by a BIA policeman who brutally beat her and left her smashed body, still alive, in the open prairie where she froze to death, her tears hardened into icicles on her cheeks. I want to go on to say that things have come to such a pass that whenever a car backfires, children at Crow Dog's Paradise duck behind chairs and beds crying, "The goons are coming!" I want to talk about South Dakota as a place where Indian children wake up from nightmares screaming, and where men and women die long before old age.

But all of this is immaterial and irrelevant rules the judge and I am stopped when I have hardly begun.

I would have liked to talk about the two FBI agents disguised as insurance salesmen, trying to sneak up, unobserved, on one of Crow Dog's sacred ceremonies, or of the planes which fly overhead when he is directing the sun dance. I want to talk about his horses, among them Big Red, an animal I particularly liked, viciously killed by unknown men trying to show their hatred of an Indian medicine man. I would like to talk about some of his accusers, agents-provocateur, one of them a prime suspect in the killing by gunfire of Crow Dog's nephew, Andrew Stuart. I want to talk about Crow Dog's children who have not dared to go to school for almost a year for fear of harassment. I want to talk about Crow Dog's brother, two years old at the time, who died in a blizzard when missionaries and police drove the Crow Dog family out of St. Francis for practising their religion.

But it is irrelevant and immaterial.

I testify about Crow Dog's "tomahawk" – a child's toy he was given in New York, a grotesque, comical, caricatured head of an Indian chief, carved from light-weight dry wood. King Kong could not have crushed a flea with it! I make a drawing of it on the blackboard. The jury sits, stony-faced. Hurd is slumped in his chair.

During all this testimony, Judge Merhige has continued to heckle and harass the defense. If Taylor lingers a second longer over a certain point, the judge reprimands: "Hurry up! Get on with it!" Or he turns with a smile to the jury to say, "Mr. Taylor is infatuated with the sound of his own voice."

At last it is the turn of Crow Dog and of Crow Dog's wife, Mary, to testify. They are the only eye-witnesses, since the defense was not allowed to subpoena other witnesses. Crow Dog and Mary tell it like it was – simple, straightforward,

without embroidery or ten-dollar words. "Pfersick grabbed a chainsaw blade from the wall and swung it at me like this. Someone grabbed it and took it from him. Both men cut their hands."

By late afternoon, the trial is over – it had started at midday, selected a jury, heard its evidence. But there is still the summation, the charge to the jury, and the jury's deliberations. And the judge has a plane to catch. No wonder he is angry! If Taylor had not been delayed by the blizzard in Denver, and the trial had started at 9 a.m., the verdict would now be in and the judge could fly home to Virginia. Now he has to stay another night. At dinner, though, Taylor is still optimistic. How could the jury not believe Crow Dog and his wife – it was all so obvious.

The attempt at railroading Crow Dog into prison is clumsy, too clumsy even for Rapid City. An old Sioux nudges me, though: "Don't believe this optimism. Jesus Christ, defended by God Himself, with the Virgin Mary for an eye-witness, couldn't win a case here – if Christ happened to be an Indian." The old man was smart, smarter than either Taylor or I.

Friday, January 9. Time for summation. Hurd shoves the lecturn in front of the jury. He wants to be pitied – he is here all alone, he says, trying this case against this Indian who threatens the American Way. The whole U.S. Government, which rented a car for him to travel the five blocks from the hotel to the courthouse, seems invisible to the jury.

For once, for a short moment, Hurd tells the jury the truth. The essence of what he said is this: "Ladies and gentlemen of the jury. We have a good system going here in this country. The Government is here to protect you. I am here to protect you." The jury laps it up. As Richard Nixon would have said, "It plays well in Peoria."

Then Hurd places his hand over his heart. His voice sounds sincere. "Would you believe, ladies and gentlemen, that the Government, your Government, would lie to you? That it has an ulterior motive?" All this from the man who in St. Paul gave us Louis Moves Camp and Doug Durham.

Finally, Hurd lets the jury in on a secret. Why, he asks, was Pfersick beaten? "Ladies and gentlemen, he was not beaten because he came uninvited, because he brought drugs, or because he made a pass at Crow Dog's wife. He was beaten because the Indians thought he was an informer!" Hurd does not say that Pfersick was, in fact, an informer, but he implies that the informers are good guys, risking their lives to keep America good for good people like the jury.

Taylor sums up for the defense. He does well, but that no longer matters. He is interrupted by Judge Merhige, who reminds him that he has only four minutes left, and will be cut off at that time.

The judge instructs the jury. Give him credit – it seems fair. He will not make a reversible error here. "If Crow Dog acted in self-defense," he says, "you must find him innocent." The same goes, he tells the jury, if he protected his home, his family, or even just his property. He cannot be guilty if this was just a rambling mutual fight which he did not start. And, if he has, in fact, not used a dangerous weapon, then the jury can find him guilty on a lesser charge – simple assault. "It is a simple credibility case," says the judge. "It is a matter of whom you believe."

There is the rub. Will this South Dakota jury believe three white people or two Indians?

The jury retires. It comes back after a little while to have a few things explained to them. We think this is hopeful, an indication they are thinking and deliberating. But there is that old smart Indian nudging me again: "They are going to deliberate just long enough to get their free lunch, after that – "

And indeed it is chow time, and the jury is escorted by beaming marshals to a steak dinner. After they come back, they lose little time to find Crow Dog guilty of all charges. It is over.

* * * * *

Crow Dog has lost 45 pounds. In Terre Haute Federal Prison for two weeks, he was kept in the hole – a lightless punishment cell. Prison officials explained this was not for punishment, of course, but because he is not a "regular inmate" and they had no other place to put him.

When I last saw Crow Dog in the Rapid City Jail (56 Indians, 4 blacks, no white prisoners) he said to me: "They might crush my body, but they won't crush my spirit. Even in jail I am with my Indian people!"

* * * * *

March 3. I went to Crow Dog's sentencing in Richmond, Virginia, which is where Judge Merhige's home and court are situated. Here, where he had a good reputation as a fair civil-rights-minded judge, and away from the South Dakota atmosphere, Merhige was warm and sympathetic. The sun was shining inside and outside the courtroom.

The court sentenced Crow Dog to serve his time concurrently with his previous sentence, and no additional appeals bond was set.

About 50 supporters of Crow Dog's converged on Richmond to organize support. There were posters, leaflets, rallies, Indians marching in front of the Richmond courthouse. Crow Dog's wife, Mary, made a moving, angry, passionate speech. Rip Torn spoke eloquently for Crow Dog. Dave Baker sang. Father Bob Witthoeft came from Rosebud with a sacred pipe for Crow Dog. Bishop Sullivan of Richmond sent a letter to the judge asking that Crow Dog be released.

"Don't worry about it. One day you're feeling down and you dish out 20 years to some poor devil. The next day you feel great and everybody gets a suspended sentence. It all evens out in the end."

Custodial officials were understanding. His family was allowed to see him, to touch and embrace him. The sympathy and the good day in court were nice – but what kind of victory has this been?

Crow Dog is still in prison.

* * * * *

He could be there for years more. He has been in 14 different prisons in the last 3 months, most of the time in solitary confinement, once in a cell in which he couldn't stand up.

After a physical examination, a sadistic guard told Crow Dog they had discovered a brain tumor, and that he would have to be operated on. They told it to him so often that he believed them. He was able to make a phone call: "Richard, can they do this to me? Cut into my brain without my consent?" It was, of course, a lie. A report from the Bureau of Prisons states there is nothing physically wrong with Crow Dog.

They told him lies about his family, his wife. They said they would cut off his hair. They say his stay in prison will be for 13 years. Crow Dog is a man used to walking under trees, riding a horse, seeking visions on a lonely hill, looking for herbs in the prairie. Prison, for this sort of man, is cruel and unusual punishment.

The legal work that is underway is complex. The case against him for his Wounded Knee occupation is on appeal, and likely will end in defeat for the Government. The Pfersick case described here is temporarily at rest.

This leaves the Beck-McCloskey case, in which Crow Dog was imprisoned for five years for an incident in which he watched friends and relatives drive away two men who had invaded his land to cause trouble. One of those men, William McCloskey, has since expressed his regret for having accused Crow Dog. In a letter to Judge Merhige, he says that Crow Dog is a holy man, much needed at home, a peacemaker and healer who should be released.

That leaves Robert Beck. During Crow Dog's trial number two, the defense tried to establish that Beck was a known troublemaker. And since the trial, Beck has fulfilled that reputation. He opened fire with a high-powered rifle on an Indian family in the main street of Mission on the Rosebud Reservation. He rammed the car of the Charles Stoneman family with his own vehicle. Some witnesses say he tried to run down children. He was arrested and fined in tribal court. Investigations continue into other even more grave and serious accusations.

And yet it is Crow Dog who is in jail for watching friends and relatives defend his land and home from this man.

Persons who would like to see justice restored to Leonard Crow Dog and to this land can help by organizing contributions for:

Crow Dog Defense Fund
c/o Center for Constitutional Rights
853 Broadway 14th floor
New York, New York 10003

I came home from the trial of Leonard Crow Dog worn out, shaken and depressed. What I had seen in South Dakota forced me to take a long look at the path I had traveled these last few years, a path which seemed to lead to the top of the mountain, but now, today, seems merely to end in the swamp.

Where do we go from here, we who call ourselves 'the Indians' white friends?' By "we" I don't mean the latter-day groupies and faddists who in the last few years have found it fashionable to pose as supporters, but those who have formed close, life-long friendships within the Indian community, and who have been able to share their friends lifestyles, who have learned to listen.

Taking stock of the situation, I am experiencing a sense of failure, personal and collective failure. I have many questions, but few answers. I am sure that some questions are occuring to others beside myself. An exchange of ideas and a response would be most welcome. [Richard Erdoes, 251 W. 89, New York, N.Y. 10024]

Here we are, sweating, huffing and puffing from our efforts without having gotten anywhere. Take the trials – at the moment, almost every Indian friend seems to be on trial. Some, like jugglers managing to keep a dozen balls in the air, handle three or four trials simultaneously, hardly having time to get from one courtroom to the next. We, their supporters, meanwhile, spend a great deal of time, energy, money until we run out of all these commodities.

We raised bail, held rallies, got legal teams together, played the role of lawyers' apprentices, wrote and distributed newsletters, made speeches, went to the trials, and with all these efforts, and the best intentions of the world, we have simply led our Indian friends down the garden path.

By our activities, our presence, we lend dignity and credibility to the farces which go by the name of trials, instilling hope in the defendants that they can obtain justice under the present system.

Maybe we should level with them – and ourselves – and admit that there will be no justice. I remember how I had been naive enough to think Crow Dog would be acquitted for the simple reason that he had done no wrong. Crow Dog knew better when he leaned over the barrier and whispered to me with a sad smile, "Five more years!"

St. Paul gave us a euphoric feeling that justice for Indians could be obtained. We had weeks and months to prepare a trial properly. We probed the jurors' minds. The Government learned a lesson from St. Paul – and unfortunately, it learns fast. At least, faster than we do.

From now on, Indians will be judged by men free from all suspicion of friendly feelings towards Indians, hand-picked judges. And I have yet to see a single Indian juror; probably I never will.

Trials, from now on, will be fast Mickey-Mouse affairs. Already we had a trial lasting 3½ hours from beginning to end. Crow Dog's January trial started at 11 a.m. with various motions and jury selection. Late in the afternoon, it was all over. Friday morning, at 9:30, the prosecution and defense were allowed thirty minutes each to make their summation. The jury stayed out long enough to get a free lunch, and at 2:30

[continued on next page]

found Crow Dog guilty of all charges. The judge and his clerks had their bags packed and ready in the courthouse.

There is something else which disturbs me deeply. I am discovering that the attorneys, legal centers, and foundations prefer the "glamorous" cases. "Sexy" defendants are preferred because they will get media attention. Money and legal talent will be concentrated on the sexy cases.

But what of the dozens of cases of unknown Indian men and women, often kids, who simply disappear behind prison walls without even getting a letter, or a pack of cigarets, who become non-persons, completely forgotten? Where for them are the properly-funded defense teams, the publicity, the victories?

Sure, some will say there is simply not enough legal talent, or that we have to concentrate on the "real important cases". True, there are not enough lawyers willing to give up a profitable practice to defend the hopeless cases of Indians. Still, I find the situation unacceptable.

What can and should be done? Should Indian defendants simply refuse to take an active part in their own trials? Should they say, "Come and get me. I will not participate in the travesty which you call the judicial process. You can handcuff me, and drag me off to one of your jails, but you cannot make me participate in this cheap demeaning courtroom farce you call a trial."

Should white attorneys take a similar stand, and refuse to take part in a trial unless at least a decent proportion of the jury is composed of Indian people? I do not pretend to know the answer. I want to listen.

The U.S. Government treats Indian trials as interrelated acts of the same drama. There is a stage manager at the top with all the power and money of the United States of America at his command. The trials are choreographed and masterminded while we fight our losing isolated battles. Is it not time to pool our resources, to confront the foundations as one body, to have native people themselves set the priorities on which money ought to be spent?

Or should all of us, white and Indian, concentrate all our efforts on amnesty for all Indian prisoners in this year of the Bicentennial? I don't know – but I know that it is time to think and act before it is too late.

Where else have we, the "white friends", failed? We have tried the cultural bit. We have tried to counter the stereotype image of the Indian as a Noble Savage, or a drunken, lazy good-for-nothing, or as the song-and-dance man, by acquainting White America with the Indian reality, the beauty of the Indian way of life, the wonder of Indian art.

But again, I think we have failed. The result of our endeavors was to create Indian fashions for rich white women, to make a few sellers of Indian artifacts wealthy, to create new industries harmful to native peoples – "Navajo rugs" imported from Mexico; factories turning out "authentic Zuni turquois jewelry"; enterprises in Osaka, Taiwan, and Hong Kong creating "Lakota beadwork"

We have sought to combat the narrow-minded zeal of Christianizing missionaries, by depicting Indian spirituality in word and image. The result has often been the destruction of native holy men and spiritual leaders – Crow Dog is a good example. Once his reputation as a spiritual leader spread to the white community, his place was overrun by weirdos and acid-heads looking for the Indian swami and guru, distorting the meaning of his teaching, cheapening his ceremonies, eating his food, stealing his things, sleeping in his bed, cutting down his trees, running up bills in his name at the trading post so that he had to put his land up in pawn. As his way of life and philosophy made him extend his hospitality to all comers, he was by nature and upbringing defenseless against this gigantic rip-off.

I used to think that documenting certain Indian rituals would lead to their preservation and to a better understanding. I think so no longer. Beliefs and rituals come out of the soil, the earth, the plants and animals among whom a people live. They grow out of the language from thousands of years back. But already we have a spate of white, fake medicine men and chiefs in the strangest outfits imaginable. We have hundreds of white dancers imitating native ceremonies. Often the hobbyist wears $2,000 worth of genuine silver, bearclaws, eagle feathers, looking down his nose at the "incorrectly-clad" Mister Indian who has to make-do with plastic claws and turkey feathers.

Finally, we "white friends" have labored to bring the media to the native people. This too has been harmful as often as it has done good. It is hard to say what is worse – a news-blackout of the kind Indians are experiencing now, or the over-coverage which distorts and falsifies. Indian friends tell of reporters pressing a gun in their hands so the pose will be exciting.

Moslems teach that paradise can be attained only by walking on the razor-sharp edge of a mile-long sword spanning a frightful abyss. Only those who know how to walk on the edge of this sword will make it across. So it is with us white friends. Any suggestions of how to walk on that knife edge? How do we help without that help backfiring?

We must be very careful and take full responsibility for our acts, because hard and critical times are ahead.

We should not stop trying to help, but we must find a better way of doing it.

The question is how.

CROW DOG FROM PRISON: I SAID, 'LISTEN, WHITE AMERICA!' THAT IS MY MAIN CRIME.

[These are quotations from Crow Dog since his imprisonment.]

"I told my wife: 'They have taken everything from me. They have taken Crow Dog's land, they have taken my elements, but most important of all, they have taken my human body away from my people. But they can never take away my spirit from my people.' I ask the Great Spirit: let me be the earth, let me be the wind for my people."

"They took me to Leavenworth, the grandfather of all prisons. The inmates knew about me. They took each other by the hand through the bars and began to shout: 'CROW DOG! CROW DOG! Some white, some Indian, some black, were praying for me, praying for an Indian medicine man."

"A prison doctor asked me, 'Have you ever been sick?' I told him, 'No, I have never been sick, but I have this irritation.' One of the doctors asked: 'Is it your eardrum that is irritated? Is that hurting you?' I said, 'No – it is the Government that is irritating and hurting me. The judges – I cannot digest their words; they have no taste, no flavor. It has always been the Government who broke their word – do you have a cure for lying?' The white doctors did not know how to take it."

"A reservation Indian is already well-prepared to go to the penitentiary. Before he gets there he has already practiced being in prison. And even off the reservation, many Indians are still having a barbed-wire attitude – I try to teach my children and my people to get rid of the barbed-wire mind. We want sovereignty."

"The People were ready to die at Wounded Knee. Before we went in, I told the young men, some of you will say, 'I will die for my people!' That's easy to say, but hard to do. I experienced that. Because when the time comes, and the day, and the minute, and it's not words anymore but do it now! *– that's hard. I am experiencing it. When they were taking me away to prison in handcuffs, I was thinking: 'Will they kill me like they killed Crazy Horse?' Imprisoned, I am thinking of death. My death."*

"Do you want to know what my crime is? I said: 'LISTEN, WHITE AMERICA!' and that is my main crime. White people tell me, 'No, Crow Dog, don't blame me. It's my ancestors who have done wrong. Don't blame me – I'm not involved.' But you are. You should be involved – you are living on our land now. Indians are living now, suffering, in jail. You should take some responsibility. Not for what was, but for what is!"

LEONARD PELTIER FIGHTING EXTRADITION TO SOUTH DAKOTA; FEARS CERTAIN DEATH IF SENT BACK TO U.S.A.

Leonard Peltier, who police believed was travelling underground with Dennis Banks and who is wanted on two charges of murder and two of attempted murder in the U.S., was arrested on February 6 in Canada. A "routine check" by Royal Canadian Mounted Policemen turned him up at Smallboy's Camp in the Rocky Mountains near Jasper, Alberta. The warrant for his arrest had been sworn out January 23 in Vancouver, B.C. Also arrested was Ron Janvier and Frank Black Horse. Black Horse is accused of bond default when he failed to appear in court on 1973 Wounded Knee charges. He is being held for deportation – a relatively easy procedure for Canada to use, while Peltier is awaiting extradition, which gives him more opportunity to have his case heard.

Peltier was held without bail, and applied to the Supreme Court of B.C. to have bail set. However, Mr. Justice W.A. Schultz ruled that he could not be released. Rallies were held outside the courtrooms whenever hearings were held, and security was strict – representatives of the Leonard Peltier Legal Defense Committee and members of his family were forced to undergo a complete body search before being admitted to court. Press coverage of the rallies and native support was nil.

The FBI charged that Peltier was involved in the shooting of the two FBI agents who died at Oglala. The annual FBI report for 1975 lists the two dead agents as having been killed in an "ambush". However, persons speaking for the Defense Committee said that the FBI needed Peltier as a scapegoat, and that he wasn't even in South Dakota at the time of the June 26 incident.

The Defense Committee hopes to gain public support to keep Peltier in Canada as a political refugee. They say Canadian officials must investigate the situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation and in Indian Country USA before ordering Peltier deported to "face certain death" in South Dakota.

Peltier has never been convicted of any crime, although he does face charges of a variety of crimes. He has spent some time in the U.S. Marines, and was given a medical discharge because of a partially-paralyzed face resulting from a club-wielding policeman. He was active in Milwaukee finding jobs and housing for native people, and then he moved to Seattle to become part owner of a native-run auto repair shop. There he set up a halfway house for native people until he could help them find employment. "Leonard's heart has always been to help Indian people in whatever way he can," says Steve Robideau of the Defense Committee.

– Ian Lindsay photo

Leonard Peltier . . . A Big Heart For His People

Although there were no witnesses to the shooting of the FBI agents at Oglala, the FBI issued warrants for four persons who were high on their list as "undesirable Wounded Knee militants." In fact, Leonard Peltier was elevated to the status of the FBI's Most Wanted Man.

But at least some native people in Canada feel that Peltier is definitely a political refugee. Bill Wilson, of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, said that he considers Peltier "to be a political prisoner who should not be returned to the United States."

Bill Lightbown of the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians, said that "Peltier is very definitely being persecuted by American police authorities."

Many American Indian Movement members who tried to go to Vancouver to help the Peltier Defense Committee were turned back by immigration officials at the Canadian border, despite the provisions of the Jay Treaty which give native people the right to "pass and re-pass the border freely".

Less than a hundred years ago, Sitting Bull and thousands of Lakota People crossed into the relative safety of Canada to avoid the pursuit of the United States Army. They were granted asylum, although after a few years, Canada tired of their presence and maneuvered to cause them to return.

DENNIS BANKS ARRESTED

Dennis Banks was arrested by thirty-five heavily armed FBI agents on January 24 in El Cerrito, California – a suburb of San Francisco – early in the morning of January 24. The agents surrounded the home of Lehman Brightman, a well-respected Lakota leader who founded United Native Americans in the late 1960s. He is now head of the Native American Studies program at Contra Costa Community College.

Brightman's wife, Trudy, told reporters the family was asleep when the telephone rang. "It was the FBI. They said we were heavily surrounded, and that everyone should come out. I looked outside and they were out by our bedroom window."

The FBI agents arrested both Banks and Brightman, who was charged with harboring a fugitive. Brightman was released on his own recognizance, but Banks was held for $100,000 bail. Banks had been a fugitive for justice since August, when he decided not to appear for sentencing in Custer, South Dakota. He had been convicted by an all-white jury on charges of rioting at the Custer Courthouse on February 6, 1973. He could face up to 15 years imprisonment on that charge. He also faces removal to Portland, Oregon, where he is under indictment on firearm and explosive charges.

Over 500 persons marched to the state capitol in Sacramento February 6 to demand that California Governor Edmund Brown block the extradition of Banks to South Dakota. Other rallies were held throughout California.

Asked by reporters why he had sheltered Banks, Brightman replied, "Because he is a friend of mine. I respect the man."

When Brightman appeared for trial, however, defense attorneys made a motion that the prosecution be ordered to turn over its evidence to the court. Since that would mean revealing the names of informers, the U.S. decided not to proceed, and asked that the charges be dismissed.

When Banks appeared before U.S. Magistrate Richard S. Goldsmith in a hearing on his possible removal to Oregon, Banks made a dramatic speech to an overflow crowd of supporters. He said he would fight extradition because of the "racist attitudes" in South Dakota. He said he came to California because he felt his message would be better received here than in South Dakota. He said he had been well-treated by California authorities.

Banks told the crowded courtroom that he had "broken no laws in California. I only hope the people here will be able to read the real story of what's going on on Indian reservations across the country." Banks told newsmen, "It is a damned shame that on the eve of America's 200th birthday, I have to receive news that Indian people are being shot and hunted down [at Pine Ridge]."

Banks said he had fled South Dakota because he thought he had done nothing wrong, that he had been wrongly tried and convicted, and that if he returned to South Dakota he probably would be killed in the racist jails of that state.

Banks is now out on bond, after Magistrate Goldsmith agreed to let him post 2% of the $100,000 bail set on the Portland charge.

The Portland indictment grew out of an incident at Ontario, Oregon, on November 14, when Oregon State Police stopped a mobile home containing six persons. Four of the occupants were arrested after heavy gunfire into the vehicle, but police claimed two men fled. They said the two were Banks and Leonard Peltier. A federal grand jury in Portland indicted Banks on December 22 on four charges of violation of the National Firearms Act, and one count of being a convicted felon in possession of a weapon.

For those who know about things like the occupation of Wounded Knee only through the eye of a television camera, Banks the man is inseparable from the mass media image that was televised around the world. But Banks is by nature a quiet man, probably more comfortable in the woodlands of Chippewa country where he was born, but accepting the responsibilities of providing strength and spirit to native people all over the land.

Banks is supported by a coalition of minority groups in California who are attempting to demonstrate to Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr., that California should provide Banks with "sanctuary" and not extradite him to South Dakota where Banks says he cannot receive a fair trial because "Dennis Banks and the American Indian Movement are condemned to die in South Dakota."

Banks said that he had an affidavit from an attorney quoting South Dakota's militantly anti-AIM attorney general, William Janklow, as saying that the solution to Indian problems was "a bullet through my head." He noted that polls repeatedly show that so many white South Dakota citizens prejudge Indians to be guilty, so that an impartial jury is impossible.

During the six months he was a fugitive from South Dakota, Banks said he wasn't really underground. He travelled through the western U.S. and Canada. "I was jogging, I went to movies and I went grocery shopping, to the YMCA to work out, attending classes at Contra Costa College, speaking with people at various meetings. I visited at least nine reservations, meeting with tribal chairmen, traditional people, and going to religious ceremonies."

Banks, 42, was wrenched from the political exile he sought after his August, 1975, conviction in Custer, South Dakota. There, in a town rendered paranoid by the sight of him with his long black hair falling on his straight back, he was found guilty of riot and assault by an all-white jury sitting in the heart of Indian Country.

Even in that hostile courtroom, Banks had explained why a police riot occurred in their town on February 6, 1973. He explained what the native delegation wanted when they came to Custer – justice for a Lakota mother, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, whose son had been stabbed by a white businessman who was charged only with second-degree manslaughter. [He was later acquitted even of that charge.] When the delegation was attacked from the steps of the courthouse, Banks and others were arrested and charged with responsibility for the violence.

Banks was educated in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota – a schooling which he describes as "trying to destroy the very structure of Indian society" by separating parents from children. He joined the U.S. Air Force in 1954, and spent 3 years in Japan. He says for the next 10 or 12 years, he "bummed around between the reservation and Minneapolis and St. Paul – there were no jobs, no nothing." He was arrested for burglary in 1966, and sentenced to five years in prison. There, Banks said, he found the book, ***Black Elk Speaks.***

He can recite the last paragraph of the book by memory: "As I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with my eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream . . . the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the Sacred Tree is dead."

Banks said he could see that from his prison cell. "I began really to think about treaty rights, civil rights, human rights. He read in newspapers about the civil rights movement of black people.

When Banks was released from prison, he said he began a series of meetings and began organizing. On July 28, 1968, he says, "we had a meeting in Minneapolis and 250 showed up. That was the beginning of AIM." AIM was active first in the Twin Cities, and there have been some changes since 1968. There are now two federally-funded accredited Indian schools controlled by Indian people, urban housing for 241 Indian families, and a $1.9-million Indian Center. Arrests have stopped on Franklin Avenue in Minneapolis where they used to arrest 50 to 60 Indians a night.

Banks says AIM continues to want to move beyond militant activities. In the past, its efforts to do so were frequently thwarted by police, who caused confrontations that escalated into violence. "We can settle down now," Banks says. "We've made blunders like any other movement, and mistakes. I haven't mellowed – I'm certainly not going to back down from any situation. I'm not tired of struggle. But I think we can move ahead, working with society as it is.

BANKS: "200 YEARS OF ARRESTING INDIANS WHO HAVE CRIED OUT FOR JUSTICE"

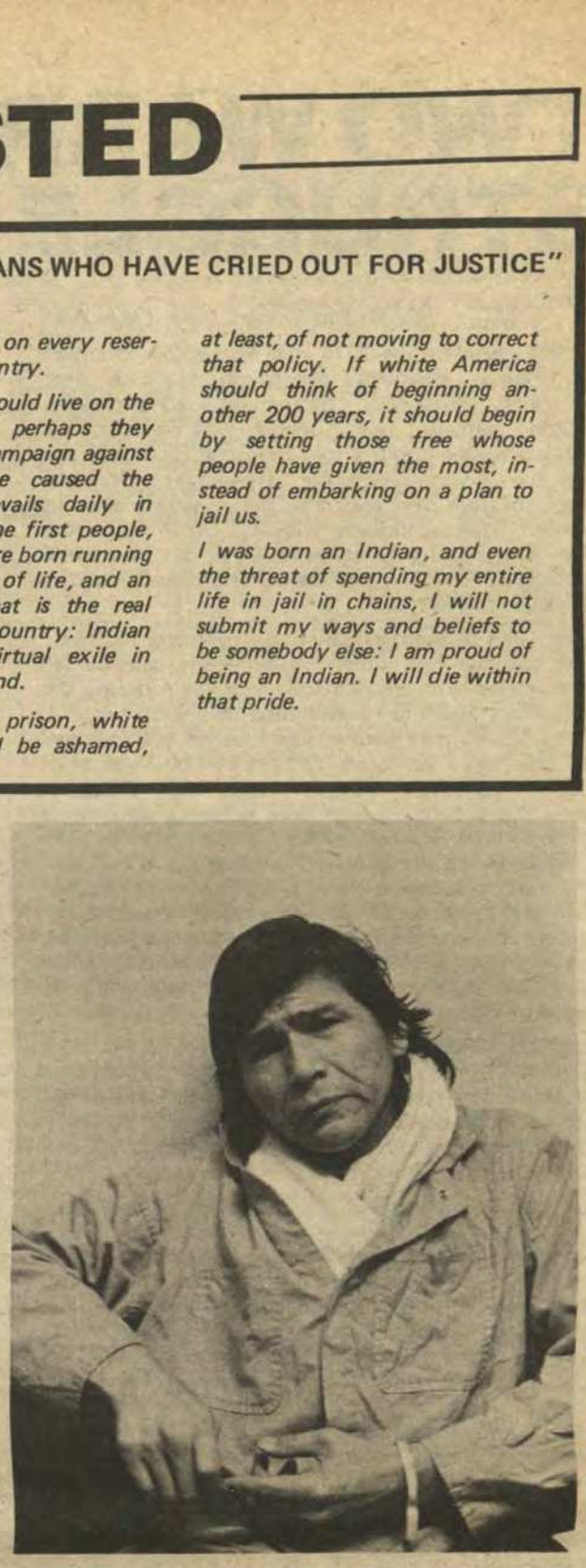
[This is the statement made by Dennis Banks at the time of his arrest January 24.]

I am a Chippewa man born on an Indian Reservation. The arrest of myself by Government agents again is a pattern that was established throughout the decades of Indian-white relations. It is at a time when my wife, Kamook, is also in prison, giving birth to my 15th child, and at a time in history when the U.S. is on the eve of its 200th anniversary – 200 years of arresting Indians who have cried out for justice and an end to atrocities being committed on every reservation in this country.

Every lawman should live on the reservation, and perhaps they would begin a campaign against those who have caused the misery that prevails daily in Indian homes. The first people, such as myself, are born running for a better way of life, and an even chance. That is the real crime in Indian country: Indian people are in virtual exile in their own homeland.

Should I die in prison, white Americans should be ashamed, at least, of not moving to correct that policy. If white America should think of beginning another 200 years, it should begin by setting those free whose people have given the most, instead of embarking on a plan to jail us.

I was born an Indian, and even the threat of spending my entire life in jail in chains, I will not submit my ways and beliefs to be somebody else: I am proud of being an Indian. I will die within that pride.

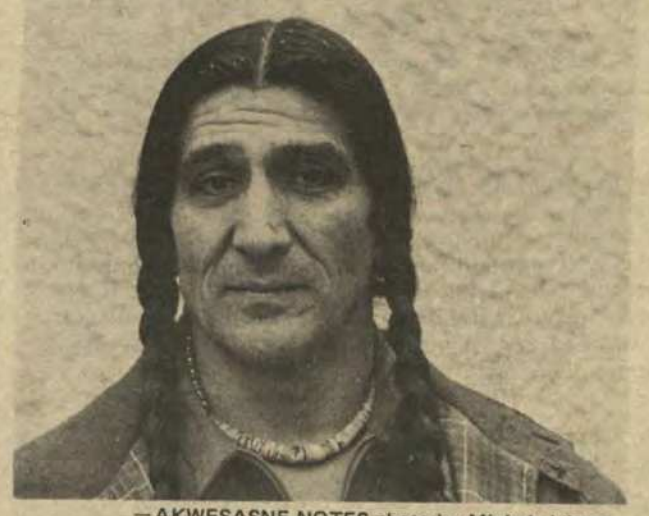


– AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Michele Vignes
Dennis Banks, P.O.W. . . . "I haven't mellowed."

"The great danger is becoming part of what you're fighting against."

"What AIM has wanted from the beginning," Banks explains, "is an end to Government destruction of Indian society through separating Indians from their land and their religion."

Even if Banks wins his fight against extradition to South Dakota, he still faces federal charges in Oregon of violating firearm laws. But Banks says he isn't worried about those charges – "They have nothing," he says. "I wasn't in Oregon. If we can get immunity



–AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Michele Vignes
Lehman Brightman . . . "He is a friend of mine."

[from prosecution for harboring a fugitive] the people who were taking care of me will prove that I couldn't possibly have been in Oregon."

He said he chose the San Francisco area as the place to surface in order to get a hearing before the general public.

[Thanks to Associated Press, Northwest Passage, Kathleen Fitzgerald of the Militant, Larry D. Hatfield of the San Francisco Examiner, Ed Meagher of the Los Angeles Times, New York Times, and INDIGENA for information.]

TWO WARRIORS DIE: BUT STRUGGLE GOES ON

Menominee Nation, Great Lakes Area

On the day after the 1975 New Year's occupation of the Alexian Brothers' abandoned novitiate near Gresham, Wisconsin, Menominee warrior John Waubanascum, Jr., told a reporter: "I woke up this morning feeling good. I told the Great Spirit it was a good day, a good day to die." He said he believed he might die that day, and if he did, it would help his people. "The community will say 'Our Young Ones died. Our Young Ones were killed by our white oppressors.' They'll know their young ones believed in the Old Indian Way."

At the end of the occupation, on February 14, 1975, John and the four other "major felony defendants" were gagged and chained to silence them during the preliminary hearings which bound them over for trial. Mothers and sisters were attacked, gassed, and removed by force from the courtroom and hall by an army of sheriffs from four counties surrounding Shawano, where the proceeding was held. A young Menominee photographer, Norbert Miller, whose pictures were evidence of the crimes committed that day in the name of justice, was chased through the street and attacked viciously by a squad of police who were after his camera. He was beaten and dragged along the main street to the jail, leaving a trail of blood in the snow while townsfolk from white Shawano stood watching and laughing.

John Waubanascum was silenced forever on February 3, 1976, killed before the eyes of his wife and children by Menominee County Sheriff Kenneth Paddo Fish. Also killed at John's home that day was Arlin Pamanet, 27, a Menominee worker for the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

* * * *

The Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (MLDOC), the Menominee Warrior Society, and the Menominee People's Committee, a group of older reservation people formed January 18, 1975, to support the abbey repossession, have been coming closer to a courtroom struggle which would have great consequences for all native people regarding treaty rights and federal/state jurisdiction. The issues involved are of broader scope and affect more native peoples than do the important 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty hearings in the Wounded Knee trials.

Arlin Pamanet had been struggling for over a year in almost total neglect and lack of attention on the Menominee case. He and others had risked a lot, constantly discouraged by the fact that so few people seemed to know or care about what was happening.

Shortly before his death, Arlin had been working on a newsletter to spread the word. it was to have been called *Ho-Naw-Mue-On*, meaning "truth" in the Menominee language. The first issue was partly written, and a handwritten manuscript was found on Arlin's desk after his death:

". . . If convicted on the felony charges, Warriors Mike Sturdevant, Doreen Dixon, John Perrote, John Waubunascum, and Robert Chevalier could receive more than 90 years each. These charges do not relate to the repossession, but to alleged events in the caretaker's cottage on New Year's Eve night [when the Warriors evicted the caretaker and then took over the abbey.] In effect, the State is saying the warriors occupied the novitiate in order to 'falsely imprison', rob, burglarize, and intimidate the custodian and his family.' *These charges cover up the political nature of the abbey's repossession. The . . .*"

At this point, the manuscript ends. Arlin did not live to finish it.

And John Waubunascum did not live to argue in court the legal viewpoint on treaty rights, which it was his responsibility among the defendants to present. There were many traditional people as possible witnesses, for John had coordinated a solid job of oral and documentary research.

* * * * *

So what is the political nature of the abbey occupation that Arlin was starting to record?

You certainly couldn't learn it from the media. One of the warriors, a former journalism student, wrote about the media coverage as part of a personal memoir of what had led him into the abbey:

"An outsider's view of the Indian Way of Life is extremely slanted. I observed this during January and February of 1975 from the media. I would listen to a man speak, and the same day watch the Green Bay TV station put the words into a different perspective by leaving some words out, or simply having the man on TV with his mouth moving and the commentator doing all the talking."

[Both during and after the occupation of the abbey, there seems to have been in effect a "Force Media control" program like the one outlined in the military/police Cable Splicer documents. See last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES for details.] That slanted viewpoint has prevented most United States people from understanding the events and consequences of their Government's policy of Termination, which had been practiced on the Menominees in 1951.

And equally obscure is the split – and the reasons for the split – among many of the people who fought to have Termination defeated. Some of the present tight group constituting the official tribal leadership – the "Restoration Committee" – did take central roles in the grass-roots struggle which won retribalization, so did many who are now Warriors and their supporters. Jim White, for instance, was a past president of DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity of Menominee Shareholders), the grass-roots organization of many Menominee people which fought so hard for retribalization, has been on the executive board of the Menominee People's Committee. Theresa and Isaac Jacobs, older people whose house was the Menominee AIM office – it was burned during the repossession – were very active in DRUMS. Abbey defendant John Perotte testified as an AIM representative at Senate hearings on the Menominee Restoration Act in 1972, as did others associated with the abbey takeover.

People quickly found out that "restoration" didn't mean returning things back to their original state. The Menominees had been forced to sell off land to pay taxes on the income-producing lumber operation, but with Restoration, the reservation remained 18,000 acres smaller – the Legend Lake development of luxury summer homes for wealthy urbanites was missing. Many people felt the U.S. Government should have been held responsible for this loss of some of the best, most beautiful reservation land, and should have bought it back for the Menominees.

John Waubanascum

Arlin Pamanet

The abbey occupation was not the first time that Menominee Warriors had forced a showdown with tribal leaders they felt had been too timid or bought off. In 1848, misled and drink-dazed "leaders" signed away *all* the remaining Menominee land in Wisconsin in the Treaty of Lake Powhaykonnay (Powhegan). They agreed to be removed to Minnesota. But Chief Oshkosh, son of Tomauk, is credited with leading the refusal to go, eventually leading to the 1854 Wolf River Treaty defining most of the present reservation boundaries. Oshkosh had the forceful backing of the young warriors, whose determination scared white land speculators. Later, when some of the leaders were again misled into making dangerous concessions, the young warriors demanded and received the right to have their own representatives approve and sign (or reject) all treaties.

After that right was admitted, there were no more treaties, and no more land was lost. Until Termination.

Believing they were acting within their own traditions, the Warriors considered the contemporary scene before planning the abbey occupation. They understood that leaders would be arrested and tried. None knew it better than Mike Sturdevant, whom the press chose to call "The General" of the siege. Sturdevant's own Wounded Knee trial had brought to light the U.S. military's illegal Garden Plot operation at Wounded Knee, and as a result of information the military was forced to release in his trial, Sturdevant was acquitted along with others. Yet this information about the military indicated that in conventional military terms, the native people can't win. If the U.S. wanted a massacre, there was no way the Warriors could hold the abbey.

But "deed or death" determination, displayed in the glare of modern publicity, would eventually lead to a compromise, the Warriors felt. This would lead to some trials, which could be a weapon in the struggle for independence and sovereignty at the next stage, the courts.

So preparations were begun, by research and strategizing. The abbey stood on land ceded in the "trick treaty" of 1848. This was an illegal treaty, not properly signed. The writings of Catholic priests who witnessed the event were appalled at the barrels of drink used to lure some Menominees to the "treaty council". Even the U.S. Government's documentary version was forced to record the protests and rejections. In addition, the U.S. did not live up to its own terms.

The Warriors believed the trials arising from the occupation would give them a new challenge in the courts, since there was no legal way of bringing the case into the courtroom. And at the same time, the Warriors strategy was to challenge Public Law 280, which arbitrarily handed over jurisdiction over Indians to states, thus weakening the remainder of the nation-to-nation relationship which still survived under federal responsibility. A victory here would have widespread application throughout Indian country.

The Warriors also believed the occupation could bring about immediate results for the Menominee people by giving them back their hospital or their school to be operated under Menominee control. The abbey had the mansion, dormitories, offices, chapels, laundry, kitchens, a caretaker's house, and fine land with a beautiful river running through it, all of which could meet actual needs. After the occupation was finished, the Warriors Society said, "We intended to get something real out of it, not just words." Recalling "Deed or Death" was the slogan throughout the occupation, they said they "did not leave until we had what we thought was a valid contract for deed – we had won something real for our people."

But keeping what they had won was another story.

True, the Warriors Society as a total did not go to the abbey with a well-articulated agreed-upon conscious strategy, but it seemed to be a part of the unconscious collective feeling, emerging from time to time when the pinch was on.

As at Wounded Knee, the U.S. Government did notice that something important lay behind what is a "small matter", if measured only by numbers of people involved. As Vine Deloria has said, "It does not matter that our numbers are few – our ideas will overcome your ideas, because we Indians have a superior way of life."

The U.S. response was more slickly planned than at Wounded Knee – apparently officials had learned some lessons. When the actions of Shawano County Sheriff Sandy Montour and his boys, aided by the local WHAM [White Action Movement] chapter proved to be crude and started building international sympathy for the Warriors Society, Governor Lucey called out the National Guard, being careful to do it in a "lawful way", thus blocking the possibility of dismissal of cases because of "illegal involvement," as at Wounded Knee.

The Guard commander, Regular Army Colonel Hugh Simonson, operated smoothly. A huge efficient press center was set up in the lobby of a motel twelve miles from the action. Military typists poured out handy press releases for the press staying there. Col. Simonson gave press conferences at least twice daily, filling them in on what "Mike" was saying inside the abbey – which, according to those on the inside, was rather different from what actually had been said.

Doug Durham, acting in secret for the FBI/CIA, set up a "Communications Center" in one of the motel rooms, from which he constantly "briefed" the press on the "real story", and seized the chance to rip off any support donations he could get from the various church executives who had come there to help.

The actuality of the military might surrounding the abbey was never fully revealed, partly because it was more fully concealed than at Wounded Knee. The parade of equipment and personnel included FBI, CIA, 825 National Guard troops, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, trucks, oil tankers, planes, special tactical advisors, several hundred state patrolmen. And the handling of the press was able to produce a series of national stories that the Menominees really didn't want the abbey. Most of the APCs were well hidden, and the troops were kept out of sight at a nearby armory.

At the end, Col. Simonson was promoted to General, just as Col. Volney Warner was for his military aid at Wounded Knee.

But with a contract for the deed to the abbey and its lands in their hands, the Menominee Warrior Society and their older supporters tried to move forward on longer-range plans. They strove for tribal unity in the face of a Government strategy which misleads tribal officials everywhere.

With Restoration, the Menominees had begun to regain some control over local law enforcement, although as elsewhere, the U.S. retained firm control over "major crimes" and most important financial and legal matters. But somehow, the usual thing happened – some of the worst elements of the people were commissioned to become "law and order" officers, and with a lot of U.S. help, they became armed and strong. A series of petty and not-so-petty harassments were directed against Warriors and their supporters, especially by the new Menominee County Sheriff, Kenneth Paddo Fish.

But the major attack on the Warriors Society in 1975 was on the abbey itself, in order to take away their victory. For reasons which are only starting to come out, the "settlement contract" turning the abbey over to the Menominees, was faulty. In effect, the document gave the abbey to the "tribe" – which was later interpreted to mean the "legally recognized tribal officials". This meant giving control of the situation to the tight group which had been hostile to the occupation and to the Warriors. Further, through clever wording by the Alexians' shrewd financial advisors, Brother Maurice and Neil Bennett, the Warriors actually had committed the Menominees to pay for the place at "fair market value" – something the Alexian Brothers had been trying to get since they put it up for sale. "It looks like $1 down and $699,000 later," one Warrior commented bitterly.

Meanwhile, a propaganda campaign was set in motion. Certain members of the Restoration Committee faction stated that they did not want the abbey because it was unsuited for a hospital. True, it did not meet federal hospital standards. "But it is better than 99% of the Indian health facilities I've seen," commented Dr. Herbert Carr, an Indian Health Service physician who inspected the place.

When the idea of using the abbey for a Menominee-controlled school was brought forward, the Restoration Committee felt it would cost too much to fix up the abbey for operation. Wholly ignored, it seemed, was the fact that the Warriors had obtained a $100,000 commitment from Tom Laughlin, head of Billy Jack Productions, which could have been parlayed as matching funds to produce as much as $300,000 in construction/operation funds.

Also, it seems, the possibility of the Menominees working together again, using their knowledge, skills, forest, and mill to do the renovation at a minimum of cost, was cast aside.

So, in midsummer, the Alexians announced they were responding to the "will of Menominee" who didn't want the abbey, and they cancelled their contract. Even some of the Restoration Committee people protested they had not been consulted, but that didn't make the press.

What did make the press this early autumn was the sensation that the place was firebombed. Most of the news coverage suggested the Warriors had done it out of anger at losing the place. Actually, it wasn't the abbey that was burned. The old mansion part was burned inside over about one-fourth of the structure. The new portion, with its dorms, offices, chapels, kitchens, boilers, and the caretaker's house, were unharmed. And of course, there is the abbey land, which the Alexians say they are going to give to the white people of Gresham for a park now.

Then there was a two-pronged attack on the Warriors and their goals. Through the courts, legal and judicial maneuvers kept the people off-balance, requiring them to expend a lot of effort and limited funds on defense. The controlled publicity had hurt them badly in obtaining funds and legal support. That had one side benefit , however – the Menominees themselves have had to learn legal skills, and are doing so ably.

Those who survive, that is.

The second-prong of the attack has been physical harassment, escalating into the deaths of John Waubanascum and Arlin Pamanet February 3.

As with the Wilson/AIM struggle on Pine Ridge, the first press version of the shooting played up a sensationalized "Indian vs. Indian" number. This is the line the press has continued to play, although not even the establishment press could buy the versions put out at first by Paddo Fish.

In his statement, Fish said that John's wife, Elizabeth, had come to the police department about 6:30. She told the dispatcher, he said, that her husband had a gun and was going to shoot her. Fish went to meet her, and he says she told him she was afraid for herself and her children, who were at home with John. "I asked her what she wanted me to do, and she said she wanted her children out of the house."

Fish said he and deputy Richard McPherson drove Mrs. Waubanascum to the house, accompanied by Undersheriff James Tourtillott in another car. "Upon arriving at the scene, Mrs. Waubanascum said she would go in first. She proceeded to walk up to the back door of the house; then I heard her holler: 'Look out! He's got a gun!' "

Fish said that John then ran from the house toward Tourtillott, hollering, "You want me – come and get me! You're not taking me in!" Fish said that John was pointing a gun at Tourtillott, who had his hands in the air.

"I ordered him to drop the gun three or four times. Then I heard a shot from Waubanascum's weapon," Fish explained. He said he fired one shot at John, who immediately dropped to the ground. Then, he said, he heard another shot and turned to see a second man kneeling near the house porch pointing a weapon at Tourtillott. "I recognized him as Arlin Pamanet and shouted to him to drop the gun," Fish continued. "Arlin shot at Jimmy Tourtillott, and I then shot at Arlin, and he slowly fell to the ground." Fish said Tourtillott told him he saw a third person run from the house. Fish said he told his men to "pick up John and put him in the car."

As they prepared to leave the scene, Fish claimed, gunshots were fired toward them. And that's about all he had to say. As soon as the press statement was read, Fish departed as abruptly as he had arrived, refusing to answer questions. He was guarded by twenty armed deputies.

After the conference, Lou Boyd of the Warriors Society called on civil rights groups to come to the aid of the Menominee people in their struggle against "fascist police".

However, a man who said he witnessed the shooting states firmly that neither John nor Arlin fired a shot. The young man talked to reporters at a press conference, but refused to identify himself, saying he feared for his life. "He's the only living witness who can refute the state report, and there are people who would like to see him dead," Mike Sturdevant explained. He said he would testify at an independent investigation, but that there was no use talking to state investigators since "they are just interested in a coverup."

By February 19, however, District Attorney Stadelman was pressured into releasing the findings of the State Justice Department investigation, and the results of the autopsies. Those findings claim Waubanascum was shot and killed by a single shotgun blast which hit him in the left back, travelling across his body, side-to-side. But Pamanet was shot and killed by *two* blasts from Fish's weapon, both of which hit the left side of Pamanet's body. Fish claimed he fired only one shot at Pamanet.

Deputy James Tourtillott admitted that he did not hear or see Waubanascum fire a weapon at the time of the incident, neither at himself nor anyone else. Fish and McPherson maintained that Waubanascum indeed did fire at Tourtillot.

The report indicated Waubanascum might not have been aware Fish had ordered him to drop his rifle. Headlights obscured his view, and the sound of the running engine obscured his hearing. In fact, Waubanascum, who reportedly had been drinking, might have even been unaware that the sheriff was present at the scene.

While much ado had been made that Deputy Tourtillott had been injured – proving that the officers had been shot at, it was said – it turned out that the injury in his left index finger was caused by a bullet fired from his own service revolver. That shot was fired at Arlin Pamanet, but missed him.

Stadleman said that Fish acted with "reasonable force in the matter." He refuses to say whether the full reports will ever be released, and can neither confirm nor deny the accusation that John and Arlin were shot in the back.

At Stadleman's press conference, Warrior Ken (Bumbum) Fish, a nephew of the sheriff, stated: "This is a pure case of political coverup. It is to protect Governor Lucey and Ada Deer, who appointed him, knowing he isn't qualified. I've known my uncle all my life, and he isn't fit to be sheriff. He doesn't have the experience, the educational background, the emotional stability, or the ability to reason. When my uncle is our sheriff, we have to appeal to ordinary American people for justice here, because when we send for the law to help us in day-to-day problems we may get killed."

[continued on next page]

'HIS DEATH RELATED TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS LIFE'

[Mike Miller, of the Madison, Wisconsin, *Capital Times, interviewed* John Waubanascum in 1972. After Waubanascum was killed, Miller wrote about that interview.]

On Thanksgiving Day, 1972, [John Waubanascum] was considering selling [his military service] medals to buy Christmas presents for his children.

He had come back from Vietnam with hopes of attending a vocational school, learning a trade, and getting out of the poverty stream he had known all his life. When I met him back then, he was anything but a radical.

In a soft-spoken voice, he described his plans for the future. But listening to him was not easy.

Before becoming a Menominee Warrior, Waubanascum was an American warrior. When his plans for his future fell through, he became a Menominee Warrior, and for anyone who saw the absolute squalor his family lived in, it was easy to understand his reasons for taking over the notivitate.

"I don't care what happens to me," he [had] said. "As long as we have made our point, it will be a start. They may put us away, but others will follow. Things have to get better."

He was talking about improving his life as he was sitting in a house with no hot water, only a single bare pipe which rises from the kitchen floor to provide cold running water, no bathroom, and only an old space heater to provide heat for the dilapidated structure. His total income for the previous year had been $700, but for some strange reason he was having trouble qualifying for a veteran's loan for his education.

His death came exactly a year after the end of the 34-day takeover of the Alexian Brothers abbey near Gresham. I don't know the circumstances surrounding his death. Whatever they are, I am sure they relate directly to the circumstances surrounding his life.

JOHN WAUBANASCUM: 'SO I STARTED FIGHTING FOR MY PEOPLE'

[This statement was written by John Waubanascum II, a member of the Menominee Warrior Society, from his cell at the Shawano Jail, which is dubbed by local white residents as "Hotel Menominee." It is excerpted from a letter to the editor of the Bugle American, Milwaukee's alternate newspaper, POBox 2318, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212.]

Sitting in this facility, totally mixed-up by Christianity, I was told in so many words that I'd never make it in the White man's world. Believing that I'd never amount to anything, I was talked into joining the Marine Corps. This was about 1966.

Having a prior record meant nothing to this branch of service, because it would take you if you were half-crippled or crazy because the Vietnam War was at a major stage.

I was rushed through boot camp and my mind programmed with one thought: to kill. *They rushed me to Vietnam and I participated in many operations while there.*

Being wounded three times really shook me up and I realized what crimes I was committing. These crimes came from the top – orders to kill anything that didn't have roots. They were slapping medals on my chest and patting me on the back and saying "well done".

I was thoroughly mixed up after I was shot and received my third Purple Heart, and they said I could go home after a little pep talk. They asked if I would like to stay there and offered me certain benefits if I would – they needed a ruthless battle-trained individual who knew the score. I said no because I wanted to return to my people and my peaceful reservation to live out the rest of my life among Indians.

I returned and found my people hurting also. Hurt by the same White government I was fighting for. The same government I was sent by to annihilate this foreign country. The same government that ripped off my people.

I realized how much they had brainwashed me – they had made me think like them.

So I started fighting for my people and now they are labeling me as "criminal."

Mike Sturdevant said he arrived at the scene of the shooting at 9 p.m. He found Arlin dying on the couch in the house. His sister, John's wife, told Mike she had gone to the police because her daughter had borrowed a friend's car and had not returned. When she got back to the house in the police car, she said, she saw John running from the house toward a shed, and heard shots fired in his direction. She brought Arlin in from the porch and laid him on the couch. No one came until Sturdevant arrived at 9 p.m., and called the ambulance.

Sturdevant said there had been reports by people young and old that something was going to happen on February 3. "We now know what they meant," Sturdevant says.

Later, however, the unnamed witness came forward publicly. He is Harold Dick, and he and Elizabeth Waubanascum went to Madison to see Governor Lucey. However, there was no indication whether the governor would start up a new investigation now that Fish's story was falling apart.

Despite the public knowledge of the reports, Stadelman and Governor Lucey continued to back Fish. A swell of protests called for a second, more thorough investigation to look into the many unanswered questions.

About 170 demonstrators staging a sit-in at the rotunda of the State Capitol had to be removed on stretchers when they refused to move and went limp. Only two persons – Michael Sturdevant and Sterling Big Bear of Ponca City – were arrested [for disorderly conduct] in the February 24 protest.

* * * * *

Lou Webster, a former Menominee County Sheriff's Deputy, now working with MLDOC, is plaintiff in a lawsuit to remove Fish on the grounds that he does not satisfy the legal qualifications for an appointed sheriff: "I want the facts brought out and I want justice," Webster says. "If this was a domestic complaint, why did both the sheriff, undersheriff, three squad cars and 11 officers respond to the call initially? When Sheriff Fish shot Arlin, why wasn't the area sealed off and medical assistance sought for him? Why did it take two hours for them to come for Arlin's body?

Menominee People's Committee leaders say the Law And Order Committee was formed April 5, after a particularly stormy meeting with the Menominee people, which ended with Menominee Restoration Committee chairman Ada Deer storming out of the session. They say that using this committee, Ada Deer then arranged for Governor Lucey to appoint Fish to *fill a vacancy as sheriff, even though he had recently* been defeated *in an election for the post. In one of his* first acts of office, Fish deputized members of the Law And Order Committee.

Fish, who is described by other Menominees as a "hothead" and as having a severe drinking problem, had beefed up his deputies from eight to as many as 62. Since then, the Warriors Society charges, their families, friends, and supporters have been repeatedly brutalized and arrested. Typically, they say, the charges are made on a Friday night, and the defendants must sit in the Shawano jail until Monday, when charges are often dropped for lack of evidence. In the interim, they are questioned by the FBI, they say.

On April 19, deputies went to the Neopit home of Buddy Chevalier, one of the Warrior Society leaders. Leslie Grignon, 16, a brother of abbey occupation defendant Doreen Dixon, came to the door and asked the officers if they had a warrant. Grignon had been babysitting. With him was a friend, Pete Tourtillot.

According to witnesses, Eli Webster, one of the deputies, grabbed Grignon by the arm. When he jerked away, Webster hit him with his riot stick. The other deputies then jumped Tourtillot, beating him to the ground. Grignon was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital in Green Bay with a blood clot on the brain which required emergency surgery. Webster has a previous conviction for murdering his brother – yet he is a deputy sheriff in Menominee County.

The Menominee People's Committee also charged that on October 19, Fish – while drunk – threatened several young Menominees by waving a shotgun and a pistol in their faces, and firing shots into the air. He was finally disarmed by his own deputies. Nineteen affidavits were sworn to and filed against Fish, including one by Alexander Askenette, Sr., a former deputy sheriff. However, Governor Lucey said the evidence was "conflicting" and he refused to remove Fish.

Then in early November, Alexander Askenette Sr., a former Menominee County deputy sheriff, filed suit against Fish in connection with the October 19 incident.

Then in late November, sheriff's deputies beat Buddy Chevalier, defendant Doreen Dixon, and Chevalier's mother, Jeannette, when they attempted to protect Buddy from police attack – police had arrived at his home at 1 a.m. without a warrant. A member of the MDLOC taking pictures was choked by deputies, who left only after a number of other Warriors arrived on the scene.

In a letter dated Christmas Eve, 1975, Bill Newman, active with MDLOC, wrote Governor Lucey, "If 'Paddo' continues in office, it will be a miracle if he is not the cause of death and bloodshed. He has come too close too many times, and I fear that he now feels he has carte blanche to deal with 'that group of people' as he pleases. Clearly, you do not understand the severity of the problem which 'Paddo' and his deputies are causing. The blood will be on his hands, and the corpse on the steps of the Governor's Mansion."

Governor Lucey's legal advisor, David Reimer, could only reply: "If you continue to object to the way members of Sheriff Fish's Department, including the Sheriff, conduct themselves, I suggest you pursue the various local avenues open to you, including seeking review of the conduct you question by county officials, or challenging Sheriff Fish in the upcoming election."

A group known as Menominee Supporters of the Sheriff's Department emerged to give support to Fish, saying, "Since our sheriff took office, there have been arrests following crimes and murders. People here are able to sleep peacefully at night without keeping loaded guns stashed in their closets. It's about time we had a sheriff who has the guts to stand up to threats and rhetoric and get the job done."

Although the legal maneuvers to remove Fish have thus far not proven successful, another move would have denied him all jurisdiction on the Menominee Reservation. Federal authorities had expected to take over law enforcement duties on January 1, but that was postponed indefinitely because of a disagreement between the U.S. Department of Interior and the Department of Justice over the meaning of the Menominee Restoration Act.

Apprehension, tension, and violence have been facts of life in Menominee country *since the occupation of the* abbey. Since a Soo Line railway bridge was burned last July and a trainman shot, the railroad sends trains through the county as little as possible, and then only when deputies ride shotgun aboard the train.

Some of the Menominees feel that Waubanascum was victimized by a government plan. "The FBI – or some of them others – psyched that pea-brain Paddo to do it," Neil Hawpetoss, who was the Warriors' official "outside" spokesman during the repossession, explains. "He's like a lot of us older Menominees. He never had much in his life. He struggled there at the mill – he was one of the leaders of the strike for higher wages, and he was one of the leaders organizing the union we got now. I don't think he ever made more than $5,000 a year in his life. Now they give him $16,000 as sheriff, and 130 deputies under him doing good too. And this is what happens when people get a little – they have something to lose, they become afraid, and they are bought off."

But, Hawpetoss feels, there is more to it than this classic pattern. He said that two weeks before the shootings, "I was by Cliff's Tavern in Neopit. All those deputies and Paddo was in there, and the place was closed for regular business. A Green Bay FBI agent named Prokop was in there standing by the pool table with an open briefcase and a lot of reports in blue folders. He had pictures he was showing them. I banged on the door, but they wouldn't let me in."

And there was another meeting. "About a week later, there was some closed law 'n order meetings at the gym of St. Anthony's School. We sent a couple guys over to try to hear it. They got there as it was starting. They saw Paddo Fish get out of a car with five men, a car with South Dakota plates and transmitter aerials. The car looked like FBI and was wearing summer suits, not dressed for our winter. When the meeting started, (name protected) went to the door. He heard a little of the agents' discussion. They was talking about AIM. Then they told him it was closed, kicked him out. There was 50-60 deputies, Paddo, and those feds or whatever."

Hawpetoss said John Waubanascum had a feeling he had been marked for death after these meetings. He talked about this for several nights before he was killed, saying he thought they would get him before the Abbey trial unless he hid out, that if he let them put him in jail on a traffic warrant they had, he would be killed in jail. He also expressed discouragement at how much work had gone into the treaty motion, and how the judge was throwing so much of it out without even looking at it.

John talked about treaties: "We have to believe in the treaties. They are strong. They are nation-to-nation law, highest law of this land and of international law. But in another way, they were just land swindles. Our ancestors agreed to the treaty of 1848 with a gun at their heads. Now we have little local judges making treaty decisions every day on our case, upholding the swindles that the treaties were, and denying the international rights and sovereignty that they also are."

Waubanascum had attended the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay from 1969 until 1973, when he became involved with the occupation of Wounded Knee. He worked with AIM in Chicago, helped to set up AIM in Green Bay, and got married. He and Elizabeth have two children, and John was step-father to six children that were Elizabeth's by a previous marriage.

Despite all his medals, John Waubanascum was in trouble with the military. He went AWOL after being returned to the U.S. for a medical furlough, and he was apprehended late in 1973 and taken away to Camp Pendleton, California, to serve five months in a military prison. After that, the U.S. processed a bad conduct discharge against him.

Pamanet had been hired in 1974 by the Menominee Restoration Committee, the interim tribal government, to do research and to write articles for the MRC's monthly newsletter. But after the takeover of the Alexian novitiate, Pamanet was one of several MRC employees identified as being a "sympathizer" of the Warriors Society, and he was fired.

The four leaders remaining to be tried are Sturdevant, 31; Doreen Dixon, 19; Robert Chevalier, 25, and John Perrote, 28. All are charged with armed robbery, armed burglary, and false imprisonment. Perrote is also charged with endangering safety by conduct regardless of life.

After John Waubanascum's death, the court advanced the date for the abbey trial. Waubanascum had not only been one of the five "major felony defendants", but he had in many ways taken much responsibility. He was representing himself without a lawyer, and it had taken almost a year of legal hassles to gain him the right to represent the Indian legal viewpoint. He had been working and studying on treaties, and working with the defense oral history project, collecting family recollections of traditional Menominee people for the treaty hearings. As well as the emotional shock, anger, sorrow, and sense of loss at John and Arlin's deaths, the legal defense had suffered an obvious loss of a skilled member and would require time to re-prepare the tasks Waubanascum had been on. Yet instead of a postponement, the trial date was advanced. Since then, *the trial has been re-scheduled to April 1.*

* * * * *

Right now, the Dream Dance Drum in Zoar, on the Menominee Nation's land, is keeping the peace for the Warriors. A chiefs' dance and spirit memorial were held after John's traditional funeral. The elders advised the young Warriors not to take revenge on a brother or sister, even if they had been ignorantly misled into serving interests against those of the Menominee People – the possibility of repentance and purification through ceremony still exists, they said.

But now the traditional older people and Warriors wait hopefully to see if the possibilities of a Menominee Way of Life can be established through unity of the people. Can the factions and divisions, some of them manipulated by outside financial interests, be healed?

Whether or not the case John Waubanascum was preparing is fully heard, or whether or not there is justice for the other defendants, depends on the ability of the Menominee Warrior Society and MLDOC to present their case, especially in the almost total blackout of news coverage. There is a need for cash, and office equipment – especially a photocopier and a good typewriter. They could also use a car or pickup or a van and some citizen's band radio equipment. Their address is:

MLDOC
POBox 431
Keshena, Wisconsin 54135
or telephone (715) 799-3667

Letters to the court could support having the Treaty Hearings for which John and Arlin had been preparing. After their deaths, the judge ruled abruptly he would not allow it. The court can be addressed at:

Judge Henry Gergen
Dodge County Courthouse
Juneau, Wisconsin

[Thanks to investigator Paula Giese for much of this information, and also thanks to Gary F. Ehman, Shawano Evening Leader Managing Editor, Peter Spielman of the Bugle American, and Pat Hensel of the Milwaukee Journal.]

Wampanoag : Totem Of The Wolf

Mashpee, Massachusetts

While the United States of America is glorifying the 200 years of its existence, the Wampanoag Nation begins to emerge from 300 years of obscurity. United States school children all know the name of the band of English adventurers who invaded North America in 1620 – Pilgrims. But very few are taught that the courteous and hospitable natives who welcomed the Pilgrims, helped them to survive, and taught them their ways of hunting, fishing, and agriculture, were known as Pokonokets, or Wampanoags.

Nor are children taught that 55 years of English injustice and treachery transformed these gentle and friendly native people into fierce defenders of their homes and way of life, determined to drive the invaders back.

After a year of bitter warfare led by the great leader, Metacom, known to the English as "King Phillip", the Wampanoag Confederacy was decimated, villages were burned, survivors were slaughtered or sold into slavery, and the bloody heads of the leaders were sanctimoniously displayed atop poles in godly Plimouth Town.

During the last battle of August 12, 1676, just moments after Metacom was slain (by an English-educated native), the valiant old warrior Anawon was heard to cry out: "lootash! lootash!" ("Stand firm! Stand firm!")

Since that last anguished cry, very little has been heard from the Wampanoags until now. Indeed, most non-native people are unaware that there are any indigenous people left in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Nation itself was obliterated by European diseases even before the advent of the Pilgrims. Wampanoag (pronounced Wamp-un-NO-agg) means People of the East. Once their lands extended from Boston into Rhode Island, and included Cape Cod and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Gradually, they were forced from their lands and most of the survivors retreated into the two communities of Mashpee on Cape Cod and Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard. The Mashpee and Gay Head people had remained friendly to the English during King Phillip's War. When the British fought amongst themselves in 1776, the Wampanoags sent their warriors to join the Massachusetts Regiment, and many died fighting for the new U.S.A.

Today, each of these communities has its own council and its own traditional ceremonies. And now, for the first time in a hundred years, they each have a bit of their own land, with a new hope of regaining some of their lands illegally taken, as well as recognition by the U.S. Government.

By far the largest native group in Massachusetts is not indigenous to that area. The Boston Indian Council represents 3500 persons of the Wabanaki Confederacy (Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Micmac) now living in that urban area, 80% of whom come from reservations in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and most of whom work for the day when they can return to their homes and land.

The smallest native people in the Commonwealth is the Nipmuc ("Fresh Water Fishermen") who live inland.

In a suit by the Passamaquoddy people recently, the U.S. District Court of Maine ruled that the 1790 Trade and Intercourse Act established the basis for a U.S. federal trust relationship with all the native people in the U.S., including those of the East, and that no formal further recognition is required. That decision gave the native peoples in Massachusetts hope that will also give them standing for U.S. aid and return of lands taken from them without compensation.

The Gay Head council, representing about 300 persons, has filed a suit in Federal Court seeking the return of lands seized by the State of Massachusetts in 1870, and given to the newly-incorporated town of Gay Head. The suit claims the transfer of these common lands by the State was illegal, since the Federal Indian Non-Intercourse Act of 1790 confirms the right of native peoples to possession of all lands then occupied or owned by them, until those lands were sold to the United States Government itself.

An irony of this suit is that the three selectmen of the town in office today – Leonard Vanderhoop, Walter Manning, and Luther Madison – are all Wampanoags, who feel it is the duty of their office to represent the majority non-native population of the town against their own Wampanoag council. In fact, 80-year-old chairman Vanderhoop is also a member of the Wampanoag council. "But," he says, "I'm also a public servant, and have to represent the whole town, not just the Wampanoags."

The town of Gay Head tried unsuccessfully to have the case dismissed. In court, Selectman Manning met the town attorney for the first time, and described the encounter: "He said there are no Indians in Gay Head; they were all in Mashpee. I told him I thought he had a hell of a nerve to say anything like that – I told him I'd lived here all my life, and I was pretty near 100, and my father and his father before him lived here too."

The lands in dispute are the famous colored chalk cliffs, a national landmark, where the Wampanoags sell crafts to summer visitors. Also included is Herring Creek, flooded by thousands of herring each spring on their way to spawn in the fresh waters of Squibnocket Pond and large stretches of cranberry bogs and dunes abundant with beach plums.

Town attorney Douglas Randall argues that a decision for the Wampanoags would ultimately challenge the incorporation of Gay Head itself, which would result in invalidating legal title to all of the property bought in the town since 1870. According to Wampanoag reasoning, Randall believes, they could lay claim to all of southeastern Massachusetts.

But Tom Tureen of the Native American Rights Fund, attorney for the Wampanoags, says his clients want just the 230 acres of former commons land returned. "This is their last chance to hold onto a piece of tribal property," he explains.

Beatrice Gentry, president of the Gay Head Wampanoag Council, affirms that. "This case is our people's last stand. If we lose our land, we lose our legends, our heritage."

At the annual Cranberry Day Celebration last Autumn, Dr. Alvin Strock returned to the Wampanoags the old "Indian Cemetery" at Gay Head. Since then, Dr. Strock has given the Wampanoags an adjacent property, with a building to house administrative offices.

The Mashpee Wampanoags also have tribal land this year for the first time in a century. When their lands were allotted to individuals, they had to start paying taxes on the properties. Many who could not pay lost their land. Appealing to the town of Mashpee, the Wampanoag Council was able to buy back 55 acres of its land for a token $500. Council president Russell Peters is now searching for other land within the town that might be considered commons land. The Mashpee Wampanoags also have a museum and a store for the sale of native arts and crafts – it also doubles as an administrative office.

The quest by native people of Massachusetts for land and funds is being aided by a few sympathetic congressmen. The latest version of Senator Edward Kennedy's Islands Trust Bill contains a special section directing the Martha's Vineyard Commission to establish "an orderly program for determining the precise extent of Indian common lands" and that lands so determined shall be acknowledged as "an Indian Reservation owned by the Wampanoag Tribe of Indians."

Lt. Governor Thomas P. O'Neill, after conferring with the native leaders who comprise the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs, has drafted an executive order for consideration by Governor Michael Dukakis. This order would establish an Indian Housing Authority, would formally recognize that native groups exist in the state, would establish a commission to handle complaints of illegal land takings, and would implement a legislative act giving 227 acres of land in the Freetown State Forest back to the Wampanoags as compensation for land taken by the City of Fall River in 1900. Actually, that act was passed by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1939 – and never carried out.

The Nipmuc People are represented on the Massachusetts Commission by Zara Cisco Braugh, who lives on the 11-acre Hassanamisco Reserve in Grafton, where the Nipmucs have a museum, library, and a longhouse built in 1590. The Boston Indian Council is represented on the Commission by its president, Will

– drawing by Medicine Story

Beatrice Gentry and her daugher, Joan

Basque, an enthusiastic young Micmac from New Brunswick, who at 31 is the oldest member of his energetic staff.

The Boston Indian Council has a number of community services to help with the crises of urban living – a food program, a court-worker program, an alcohol program, a drug abuse prevention program, adult education, and an after-school program. "Our kids are getting kicked from both sides," Basque says. "They are rejected as blacks by the whites, and as whites by the blacks. Last summer 500 of our people went back to the reservations because of the situation in the Boston schools. The drop-out rate is very high. The kids are confused. They go to school and don't see themselves – their history and culture are not taught."

But the Boston Indian Council has convinced the courts handling the controversy over Boston's school *"bussing problem"* to treat native children as just that – instead of being isolated and overwhelmed, native children will be kept in groups of at least 20, which will make them eligible for a bilingual native education program which the Council has asked the Massachusetts Department of Education to place into the curriculum of Boston schools next September.

In addition to the regular annual ceremonies, Wampanoags will gather this year in April at a site made famous by Metacom, or King Phillip, to commemorate the 300th anniversary of that great leader's heroic struggle for his people.

[We are grateful to Medicine Story for this article written for AKWESASNE NOTES. With it, he sent this note: "I am a Wampanoag. In my heart I carry a medicine that has kept me through my life – my grandfather's stories of our land and her spirits and the wisdom of our people. I have been travelling many years throughout the west, seeking the counsel of the old ones of all nations, joining with native peoples of many languages and customs for North American Indian unity, to help fulfil the prophecies that say we must return to the wisdom of our traditional teachings of the Earth Mother and the Sacred Mystery, and to bind together the hoop of all nations. And now I have returned home to find a new spirit growing. Drawing near the Pokanoket – 'Land of the Salt-Water Bays' – I smell the wind from the dunes and the marshes. I taste the cranberry and the beach plum, the scallop of Menemsha Pond and the Oyster of Poponesset Bay. I hear the cry of the seagull, the rustle of the wind shimmering in the silver poplars. The fog rolling in tells me old Maushop the Giant is smoking his pipe, and high above, in a great wedge racing the running clouds, the geese are coming back, a good omen for my return. My task now is to help prepare a Unity Convention to bring our people together in the fall, In October, at the time of the traditional Nickommosachmiawène – the sachem's council feast. It will be a time to dedicate the returned lands, to learn from each other, and from traditional people visiting from all over North America. I would speak my heart to our people. I would say, let us now return in our hearts to the tribal wisdom, to care and respect our Mother the Earth, and all her creatures. For each other, for the young and for the old, let us be one people again, as one family together, the grandchildren of the Great Mystery. Together, let us stand firm – 'lootash! lootash!' " The Editors.]

BATTLE OF THE WOUNDED TRUTH

Wounded Knee, Lakota Nation – The United States Army is still trying to cover up a massacre of native people which took place here in 1890, touching off a furor by historians and native groups alike.

The controversy was brought to life recently when Senator James Abourezk, a South Dakota Democrat, sponsored a bill on behalf of the Wounded Knee Survivors' Association which would pay $3,000 each to heirs of the Lakota people killed on December 29, 1890. The Senate Judiciary Committee had asked the Army for a report on the deaths, and the Army replied that it had used compassion and restraint in the killing of 146 persons, mostly women and children.

Abourezk said his bill is an attempt to provide a symbolic compensation for the unnecessary killings. The Army opposes the bill, saying it would set a precedent for claims by heirs of other native people killed in similar attacks by the U.S. Army.

The Army also said it objected to paying claims because the bill would compensate survivors of individuals guilty of "actively contributing to the confrontation, such as Big Foot himself; his other leaders; the medicine man who exhorted the braves to resist because the bullets could not harm them; the irresponsible Indian generally acknowledged to have fired the first shot . . . Moreover, at this late date it is impossible to ascertain if any of the ancestors (of the present claimants) participated in the attacks which preceded or followed the Wounded Knee episode."

The Army's denial of responsibility received big press coverage, with articles in hundreds of papers across the U.S., many of them the same papers that have yet to print any news about the contemporary situation at Pine Ridge, the imprisonment of Leonard Crow Dog, or other problems elsewhere.

* * * * *

Black Elk gave this eyewitness report of what he saw a short time after the massacre, as reported in John Neihardt's book, *Black Elk Speaks:* "We started down along the dry gulch, and what we saw was terrible. Dead and wounded women and children and little babies were scattered all along there where they had been trying to run away. The soldiers had followed along the gulch, as they ran, and murdered them in there. Sometimes they were in heaps because they had huddled together, and some were scattered all along. Sometimes bunches of them had been killed and torn to pieces where the wagon guns hit them."

But the Army says it acted justly and with restraint. It said there may have been "individual excesses" but there was no bad feeling involved. "Instead, says the Army report, "they were the actions of inexperienced, untested troops who were carried away in the heat of the battle, just as were the Indians." There were more than 450 cavalrymen at the scene.

This was the second time the Army had attempted to block compensation to Wounded Knee victims. In 1937, it also lobbied against an effort similar to Abourezk's current bill. The Army's present report is a 23-page document produced by the Legislative Relief Division of the Judge Advocate-General's Office, and signed by acting Secretary of the Army Norman R. Augustine on August 28. There was no input, an Army spokesman said, from the Army's Historical Section. Augustine said a principal objection was the "precedent effect of reviving claims arising out of an event which occurred during the last century. Should other claims be recognized which go back through the nation's history, and during periods of hostilities, when it is difficult to reconstruct the facts?

When Dee Brown heard of the Army report, the noted author said it was a "bunch of bull." "When you fire on defenseless women and children with Gatling guns, I don't know what other word you'd use [than massacre]" he said from his home in Little Rock, Arkansas.

General Nelson A. Miles was responsible for that action through his officer in the field. Although he was limited in the depth of his understanding of Indians, he had an extraordinary sense of honour. He was so offended by the massacre that he was still formally appealing for government compensation to the survivors twenty-six years later. And the General can hardly be considered "soft on Indians" since he had been fighting them since the Civil War. Miles said he regarded the whole affair as "most reprehensible, most unjustifiable, and worthy of the severest condemnation."

However, the Army says "no record has been found to show that such a report was made through the War Department."

Maybe it will be different in 1976 – the last time the U.S. Congress acted on Wounded Knee was right after the massacre took place. Then it awarded 18 Medals of Honor to soldiers who had participated in the bloody event.

Although since 1890 there have been other wars, including World War I and II and Vietnam, this is the largest number of Medal of Honor awards given for action during a single engagement in U.S. history.

COLUMNIST CALLS ABOUREZK BILL TAXPAYER RIPOFF FOR 'SAVAGES'

[The U.S. Army was not alone in opposing the compensation for Wounded Knee survivors & heirs. Columnist Jeffrey Hart wrote a column supporting the Army side, from which these excerpts came:]

Senator Abourezk is trying to rip off the American taxpayer and rewrite history by exploiting the popular myth of the massacre at Wounded Knee. Obviously this bill, if passed, would reinforce the notion of U.S. Army guilt in the affair, and cause paroxysms of joy among habitual hand-wringers.

The current perception of the Wounded Knee battle was created by Dee Brown (Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee) *and other less-than-scholarly writers during the 1960s. The only trouble with this version is that 60 U.S. soldiers died in the fight. To believe Dee Brown and the other anti-U.S. Army myth-makers, you have to believe that the soldiers got so excited during the "massacre" that, even though the Indians had been disarmed, the troops shot each other indiscriminately. As the Duke of Wellington once remarked in another connection, "Madam, if you believe that, you can believe anything."*

In the year 1890, we are thus invited to suppose the U.S. Government should have tolerated bands of armed Indians roaming at will among the new settlements of the West.

What can Senator Abourezk have in mind? In its principal motivation, I fear, his bill consists of the assertion that the North American continent would be better off if it were still the preserve of roaming savage bands.

[Jeffrey Hart's columns are syndicated through King Features, 235 E. 45 St., New York, N.Y. 10017.]

FORGET WOUNDED KNEE AND JOIN THE MAINSTREAM IS INVITATION TO INDIANS

[The Army's denial of responsibility apparently gave some writers the strength to add further anti-Indian comments. After his first column, Jeffrey Hart wrote still another, headlined: "American Indians Need To Join Rest Of Nation".]

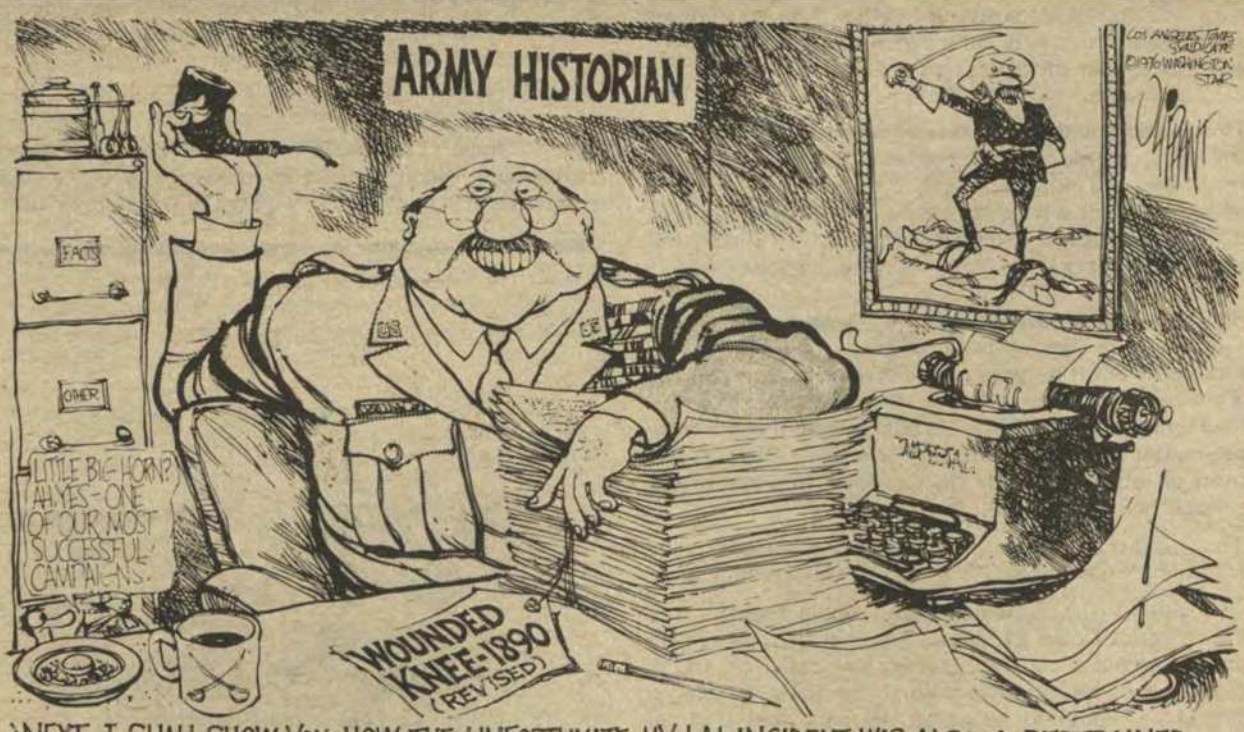
Isn't it about time to stop the posturing where the Indians are concerned?

Take the current fad of referring to Indians as "native Americans," evidently based on the desire to correct the original mistake of calling them Indians. But "Indians" at least was an honest mistake. Columbus thought he had reached the East Indies. "Native Americans", on the other hand, is not an honest mistake, but a dishonest one – everyone knows the term is inaccurate.

In the first place, anyone born in the United States is native to it. He or she is "native born". The Indians are no more native than little Kowalski, born yesterday. If the intention of "native American" is to suggest that the Indians, unlike all other ethnic groups, were the original inhabitants, then that too is completely false [since they crossed the Bering Strait at an era prior to 10,000 B.C.

A great deal of handwringing now goes on among radical-chic types like Senator Abourezk about what used to be called the Winning of the West. Of course, the fighting was often brutal. But does anyone think it could have been much otherwise, or that the early settlements and later and later cities could somehow have coexisted with tens of thousands of armed savages?

. . . The sooner the Indians join the mainstream of American society and become another ethnic group like the others, the better off the country will be. . .


ARMY HISTORIAN
FACTS
OTHER
LITTLE BIG HORN? AH YES - ONE OF OUR MOST SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS.
WOUNDED KNEE - 1890 (REVISED)
"NEXT, I SHALL SHOW YOU HOW THE UNFORTUNATE MY LAI INCIDENT WAS ALSO A RESTRAINED AND COMPASSIONATE ARMY RESPONSE TO THE THREATS OF DANGEROUS WOMEN AND CHILDREN!"

– Washington Star cartoon by Pat Oliphant

WALL STREET JOURNAL SAYS BILL AIDS AMERICA-IS-ALWAYS-WRONG ADVOCATES

[The Wall Street Journal seemed to support the Army's position, as can be seen in these excerpts from an editorial:]

. . . We suspect that the major motivation behind the bill is ideological, the use of an ostensibly compassionate measure as a further effort by the America-is-always-wrong school to conjure up images of My Lai, a racist America, and all the rest.

But whatever the underlying motives, the bill is unnecessary if not downright silly. What Indians need is not cash stipends voted to relieve the guilty conscience of whites, but enlightened legislation to reduce their dependence on federal beneficience. And it hardly advances historical understanding to replace the overly-romanticized concept of Indians as noble savages with the overly-simplified concept of non-Indians as ignoble savages.

WOUNDED KNEE: SOBERING READING FOR THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR

[Columnist Mary McGrory, however, was sympathetic. These are excerpts from her column for January 26.]

The parallel [of Wounded Knee] with Vietnam's My Lai has been made. It is almost inescapable. The 7th Cavalry had been defeated by the Sioux at Little Big Horn 14 years before. The "spirit of revenge" was attested to by the son of an officer in the action.

The commander of the Seventh Cavalry, Gen. Nelson Miles, said in 1917, "Not only the warriors, but the sick Chief Big Foot and a large number of women and children who tried to escape by running and scattering over the prairie were hunted down and killed."

An Army witness at hearings held in 1936, one Col. R.H. Brennan from the War Department, disposed of the general by suggesting he was getting old. [But] Indian eyewitnesses who testified in 1936 agreed that it was the crossfire that killed [the soldiers]. They were unaccountably drawn in a circle around the Indians.

The Army's official position was that the conduct of the troops was characterized by "excellent discipline, and in many cases, by great forbearance."

James Pipe On Head, a Sioux who was 12 years old at the time, gave this account: "I ran across a woman who had a girl about one year old on her back. This little girl had her head blown off. . . The soldiers came up there and told them to get up, that it was all over. Some of them were so helpless, wounded awfully bad, that they could not get up, and the soldiers came up and shot many of them all over again."

The 1936 hearings are sobering Bicentennial reading.

PUT THE NATION ON RECORD AS WRONG

[Editorially, the *Los Angeles Times* hit hard on the Army's opposition to compensating descendants of Wounded Knee Survivors. These words are excerpted from a December 31, 1975, editorial:]

Paradoxically, the Army has recalled its "compassion" to oppose an act of compassion. . . Perhaps we should be grateful for such frugality. But this hardly seems the item to be blue-pencilled first among the billions for the Department of Defense.

Perhaps Wounded Knee was a case of "excesses", not a massacre. But injustice was manifest. Token payments almost a century later would not undo what was done. They would, however, put the nation on record in admitting the wrong of what was done to a native people, innocent victims of a conquest of their land.

PIN MONEY FOR THE ARMY

[This column was written by Mark Russell in the January 6 Dayton Daily News.]

The Army says it was not responsible for the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890. Let's see — that leaves either the Navy or the Air Force.

The Army is lobbying against a bill that would provide $600,000 for the descendants of the Wounded Knee victims . . . The money, if appropriated, would come out of the defense budget. The Pentagon could make it up by not using paper clips for two days.

BIG FOOT HAD IT COMING

[Under the headline "Big Foot Had It Coming", the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* published this syndicated column of Patrick J. Buchanan.]

. . . The worst of the [Senator Abourezk's] bill is not that it would reward the heirs of the Sioux warriors responsible for the carnage. It is that Senator Abourezk, to make a splash with the liberal fraternity hereabouts, has made himself an active partner in the distortion of history, a slander of the United States Army, and a rip-off of the American taxpayer.

. . . if, as is true, the American Indians has been the victim of historic injustices, he also has been responsible for some of the most barbaric conduct witnessed upon this continent. And he has been beneficiary of probably more compensation, per capita, than any victimized minority in history.

"Custer had it coming" say the wall posters in the dormitories of children of the affluent elite. Well, so too did a goodly number of Iroquois, Sioux, Cheyenne and Apache.

[Patrick Buchanan is syndicated through New York Times Special Features, 229 W. 43 St., New York, N.Y. 10036.]

AN EYEWITNESS TO THE MASSACRE TELLS WHAT HE SAW: THERE WAS FIRING WHENEVER THERE WAS SIGN OF LIFE

[The following perspective comes from an eyewitness to the massacre at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890. It was written by Thomas H. Tibbles, a correspondent for the *World-Herald*, who was at Pine Ridge and covered the incident. This interview was published in the *World-Herald* in 1916.]

It was brought about by the cowardice and poor judgment of Agent Royer, who needlessly became frightened because 2,000 destitute Sioux were camped in and around the agency, some of whom, particularly the Big Foot band, being actually on the point of starvation. Royer rushed to Omaha and reported to Army Headquarters than an uprising was at hand. General Miles believing him, the wheels were set in motion, and soon the troops were on their way to suppress something that never would have happened had the troops kept out. That was the start of the real trouble, and I am glad that Royer was later dismissed by the president's orders.

I saw the first man to fall, Captain Wallace, who was in the center of the camp buying Indian curios. The first shot that started the battle, when no one was looking for it, was fired by a bad Indian belonging to the Crow Dog band, and a moment later, the slaughter was in progress from all directions. When the firing started, it was observed that Colonel Forsyth had unwittingly formed a hollow square around the Big Foot Band, for which he was later deposed, still later being reinstated.

This error caused troops to fire directly toward other troops, and I feel certain that it was a bullet from a soldier's gun that killed Captain Wallace, as the whole camp was raked fore and aft, many soldiers being in the camp when the first shot was fired. The battle should never have occurred.

Big Foot, who was ill with pneumonia, was [willing] to come in on the reservation and be a "good Indian" and Major Whitesides knew it. But somebody blundered and Col. Forsyth was sent out with the 7th Cavalry, and the battle followed, which quickly wiped out 300 Indians, except 52 women and children and five Indian men, all of whom were wounded except one old grandmother. . .

How long did the battle last? Perhaps 20 minutes in active firing, but for an hour or two, there was firing whenever there was sign of life.

SENATOR ABOUREZK DEFENDS BILL: UNDERSTANDING IS NECESSARY THAT MISTREATMENT CONTINUES YET

[After an editorial unfavorable to the Abourezk bill to compensate Wounded Knee survivor descendants appeared in The Washington Star, *Senator James Abourezk fired off the letter excerpted here, which was printed in the January 16th* Star.]

Your editorial appeared to make two major points: that the Wounded Knee Compensation Bill is nothing more than a structured confrontation between pro-Indian and anti-Indian forces, and that it is part of a national self-flagellation over our past treatment of American Indians.

As the author of the bill, permit me to say that it is intended as neither. American Indians have no degree of political or economic power, and a confrontation between them and their detractors would surely mean defeat for the Indians. It is intended as compensation for the loss of life and property resulting from the Army's massacre at Wounded Knee.

A feeling of guilt on the part of the American public may or may not help the Indians' condition, but what is far more necessary is an understanding by *The Washington Star*, the United States Army, the Congress, and other groups and institutions, that Government mistreatment of the Indian people still exists on a massive scale. The mistreatment has changed only in style, not in intensity. Understanding is a prerequisite to change.

For example, the Black Hills of South Dakota, which was at one time permanently conceded to the Sioux Indians as part of the 1868 Treaty, was later forcibly taken from them by the Government after gold was discovered there.

Through some technical legal moves, the Government has nearly succeeded in denying any kind of payment to the Indians for a sizeable part of their former lands. The Indians have watched Homestake Mining Company remove an estimated $1-billion in gold from the Black Hills to date. At least that much in gold remains to be taken out.

Burying the victims of Wounded Knee Massacre

They have also watched billions of Government dollars go toward foreign aid, subsidies to various domestic pressure groups, tax write-offs to oil companies and other powerful corporations. Perhaps the Indians most helpless feeling comes from watching appropriations go to the Bureau of Indian Affairs — money credited to the Indians — of which only 25 or 30% reaches them directly. The balance goes to administration.

In the 100 years since the Army worked its will on the Indians, they have been the subject of social experimentation by the Government, the results of which have all been bad. That experimentation has destroyed both family lives and personal lives.

At different times, in an effort to destroy their identity, the Indian Bureau has forbidden Indians to practice their own religion, to speak their native tongues, or even to sew beadwork. Indian children have been taken out of their homes and placed in boarding schools in order to "reshape" their characters.

The Bureau's relocation program has pulled them from the security of reservations and dumped them in the ghettos of the country's larger cities. In fact, the seeds of the Indian militant movement, AIM, were planted in the relocation cities.

Thus, tricked, lied to, murdered, demeaned, degraded, factionalized, stripped of economic and political power, toyed with by insensitive and unfeeling Government bureaucrats, the Indians need much more than money compensation. They are sorely in need of new Government policy that no longer prevents them from living a normal life.

Money will help, but some kind of understanding on the part of the press media that we are involved in much more than nostalgia would be of greater help. Perhaps then the Indians' lack of a large voting bloc could be compensated for, and the kind of legislation needed to change that policy would become a reality.

James Abourezk
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

GASIFICATION & THE DEATH OF THE LAND

The demands of national energy and the stringency of Western water are closing in on Mother Earth and Father Sky – and on the native people of the land. Electric power generation and the manufacture of methane gas in the West will require tremendous quantites of coal and even greater quantities of water, relative to supply. Coal and water of the Navajo Nation – along with others like the Northern Cheyenne and Crow – are substantial components of government and corporate plans to increase the energy supply.

While the energy corporations are well along to implementing plans which do offer a quota of jobs and limited gains in tribal income for the short run, in the long run they threaten the survival of native people in their way of life.

Survival for native people comes down to a lasting relationship between life and land. European-thinking peoples have always moved to new locations as resources are exhausted.

There are those who, for spiritual reasons, don't want mining to take place at all. Others would go along with mining proposals, providing the income is enough to enable native people to develop alternate sources of productive income for the time when the energy resource is exhausted or no longer marketable. As it is now, the current income levels are far below this level of adequate returns. But when native resources are exhausted, the corporations and government will move on. Unless the native people have developed other means of livelihood, they will be left to make a living from land drained of resources and deprived of water.

The five multi-megawatt coal-burning power plants now scattered around the Navajo Reservation burn Navajo coal and most use Navajo water. The Extra High Voltage lines that swing out from the plants carry power to Phoenix, Tucson, Albuquerque, and Los Angeles. But the majority of Navajo homes spanned by the EHV lines are lighted by lanterns and heated by wood stoves, or by open fires in the middle of earthen floors.

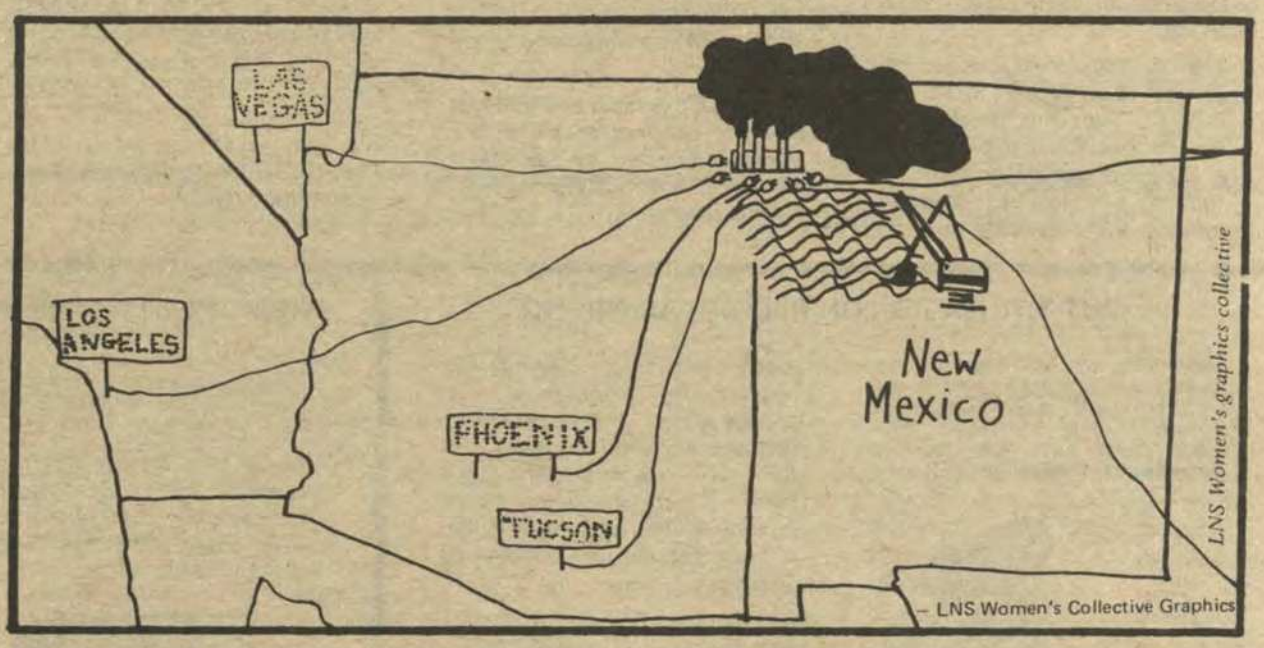
In some ways, the fact that one in three Navajo homes has running lights, and only one in five has running water and inside plumbing, can be an indication that the Navajo Way of Life is still alive and well. But there are indications that something else is involved too – Navajo infant mortality is twice the U.S. average.

The five plants now burning Navajo coal are only the beginning. Electrical power plants planned for the *Colorado River Basin will generate 36,000 megawatts*, more than the total power produced by TVA. Seven coal-gasification plants are projected in the northwestern corner of the Navajo Nation. Four high-grade uranium mines are being located on the reservation too, and a nuclear power plant is being built west of Phoenix.

Energy production uses great quantities of water. A 2,000 megawatt plant, the size of those now being built or planned, requires 20,000 to 40,000 acre-feet of water per year for steam and for cooling. Coal and water are also the ingredients from which synthetic methane gas will be produced to supplement or replace the U.S.' diminishing resources of natural gas. Planned coal gasification plants will use nearly 10,000 acre-feet per year – and a lot of this water belongs to the Navajos.

Most of the Navajo resource sales, engineered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, return very low revenue over a long period of time. Navajos still receive 15 cents to 25 cents a ton on coal mined, while the United Mine Workers of America, in comparison, levies an 80-cent-a-ton royalty. Navajos receive a 12 to 16% royalty on the crude pumped from their land, and the oil is valued at $7 a barrel. In comparison, Arab countries receive 50 to 66% of the companies' oil revenues, and Arab oil is priced at $10 to $12 a barrel.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has accused the U.S. Government of a neocolonial policy toward the Navajo by encouraging private exploitation of mineral resources. Most of the profits of this style of development are invested off the reservation, leaving per capita income at about $900 per year. "The Federal Government has chosen to run a relief economy rather than a development economy, the Commission said.



But the days of easy exploitation may be over. Savvy young Navajos and some older Navajos have united to fight attempts by industrialists and bureaucrats to rip off the reservation resources. There is the possibility of violence or sabotage. Although the developers contend that the new power plants are needed to meet growing demands for energy, the Navajos charge that the Consumer Society is laying waste to the reservation so it can heat its swimming pools in Los Angeles.

The Shiprock Chapter has voted 129-0 to condemn the new developments, complaining of "planning behind closed doors in secret meetings."

John Red House has testified before the United States Civil Rights Commission that the reservation was being turned into a "resource colony" for European-oriented people, whose children frolic in swimming pools filled with water rightfully belonging to Navajo People, while "I see my people travelling 50 miles on dry, dusty sheep trails to haul water."

Against the mammoth forces stacked up against them, the Navajos opposing development have as their most potent tactic political pressure and insistance on federal environmental standards.

And it is well known that the new plants – 100 times larger than the average gasification facility – will have its pollution problems with tars, phenols, and ammonias produced in huge quantities as by-products of the process, not to mention sulfur dioxides. nitrogen dioxide and carbon dioxide. Pipelines and railroads will also be needed.The exploitation of the Navajo Nation is no different from the exploitation of the entire state of New Mexico, which is the sixth largest producer of energy resources in the U.S., and yet is the sixth poorest state. In addition, New Mexico is itself facing a severe energy shortage. The reason for all this is that huge companies, such as Tenneco, Atlantic-Richfield, Gulf, Pennzoil, Continental Oil, and Shell extract the resources and export it out of the state to consumers in California and to refineries in the Midwest and Texas.

Senators James Abourezk of South Dakota and Lee Metcalf of Montana, acting as private citizens, have opposed the project before the Federal Power Commission hearings on approval of the plans. Abourezk charges that the project has not been proved to be in the public interest, and that "serious questions" concerning Indian water rights have not been answered. Just the Burnham facility would require 28,500 acre-feet annually from the San Juan River, a major tributary of the Colorado River, which is in a state of severe shortage. He said the project caused a serious threat "to the economic base of [Navajo, Jicarilla, Ute, Uintah and Ouray and other nations] and hence, their future existence."

But for those few Navajos who have been hired, work is not always pleasant. Willie Little, a Navajo at Peabody Coal's Black Mesa mine, charged that work in the central shop was always arranged so that he and other native men would do the clean-up work.

"I would be working on fixing something – you know, learning how to do a new job," Little says, "and some kind of cleaning job would have to be done that nobody wanted to do. I would be pulled off what I was doing to do this other thing. I just felt I was never going to get a chance to get ahead."

Little and other Navajo miners also complained of other discriminatory practices. They said they did not get equal opportunity to be sent to training schools, that the company does not make enough effort to bring them into supervisory positions, and that Anglos are left in charge of work crews in the absence of supervisors even when there are Navajos on the crew with more seniority.

In an interview last year, Mike Naccarato, the Peabody superintendent at Black Mesa, isn't particularly happy about having Navajos on his crews. "Most of them are pretty dense," he openly told a reporter for the *United Mine Workers Journal*. "They can't speak, they can't read and write. If they would just adopt more of the white ways, it would be so much better. They won't because they don't trust the white man – I don't see why not."

Mine management has shown little interest in communicating to the Navajos. In 1974, one Navajo worker, 21-year-old Leander Sullivan, with only two months experience, was left alone to clean up coal spillage at a transfer station for the long mine conveyor belt. He apparently thought his job included cleaning under the belt guard, which he removed to gain access to the area. Several hours later, his remains were discovered crushed under the belt. Federal inspectors cited three major violations of regulations.

The coal companies will do well in stripping Navajo lands. It is estimated that capital and operating costs combined run around $6.09 per ton, and with sales at $8.35/ton at the mine site, that's a neat profit of $2.26 per ton – compare that with the pennies paid to the *Navajos themselves.*

In the small Navajo town of Burnham, for example, the 1200 people need the jobs and the promised royalties – but they are fearful that careless selling of the 700-million tons of coal beneath the range around them would result in the loss of their last negotiable treasure.

Recently, the Navajo Tribal Council's 74 members considered the leasing question in a meeting closed to all non-Navajos except for George Vlassis, the Tribal Council's chief legal counsel. To balance his opinion, they called on Claudeen Arthur, a Navajo lawyer fresh from her bar examination. When they finished the meeting, the proposed lease with El Paso Natural Gas and Consolidation Coal were tabled, and the council seemed determined to drive a harder bargain with the coal companies. The new lease would update a lease currently in force for strip-mining 40,000 acres of reservation land.

The offer of the corporations was certainly better than the original lease. The new agreement would more than double the tribal royalty to 56 cents a ton, beginning with a $5.6-million advance. It contained provisions for hiring Navajo workers, and reclaiming mined land. Glowing summaries of the lease's advantages were circulated to the relevant committees of the council, which unanimously recommended acceptance.

But when Claudeen Arthur advised council members to study the fine print in the old and new contracts and to see the strong bargaining position they had, the council decided to exercise caution.

The Tribal Council knows a lot more than the Navajo People about gasification. A recent survey shows that as many as 90% of the Navajo people in some reservation communities have never even heard of the coal gasification plans – they are eager to hear the facts from people like Claudeen Arthur and her husband, Harris, who lives in Burnham.

The Arthurs are spearheading a move by Burnham residents to try to delay any major decisions by the Tribal Council on coal development. Their activity has centered on the Burnham Chapter, which three times

has passed resolutions opposing coal mining and gasification. Already Burnham families can see black smoke to the north pouring from the enormous Four Corners Power Plant, which burns coal from the United States' largest strip mine a few miles away.

In an arid land where hauling household water ten miles from a windmill is routine, the staggering water requirements of gasification seem hard to justify. But most of all, the Navajo fear the invasion of the thousands of workers who would flood into Burnham. The Arthurs have called for deeper study of the social impact of gasification, including the possibility that the mobile home slums which accompany such projects could devour in social services and law enforcment expenses all the royalties paid to the Navajos.

Companies planning the gasification envision a new city which will totally overpower Burnham. The new town will have as many as 60,000 residents. The plant will use 6,000 tons of pure oxygen each day, and will form more than 100 tons of toxic ammonia. The strip mines required for the plants will be larger than any existing one. Sulphur dioxide emissions will seriously hamper residents' health.

Wilbert Tsosie, a leader of the drive against gasification, believes "gasification is one step towards the total destruction of our land. Navajo people will not gain anything by development. We will lose our lands and there will be no relevant employment for Navajos. We will remain subservient — as garbage collectors, with shoe-shine positions, and mopping floors."

Tsosie thinks that eventually, the Navajos will find a way to develop their self-sufficiency "without stripping and without harming people." He calls Peter MacDonald a "bourgeois Navajo". Coal development, he said, "is making a few Navajos rich while most of our people continue to live in poverty."

Mrs. Alice Henry, a resident of Burnham and one of those scheduled for relocation if the plants come in, says the project is "just going to get bigger and bigger... This is the reason why I can't sleep at night — I keep thinking of it, what they are going to do to the land, for myself. It seems like local people don't have a voice. Even the councilmen in Window Rock don't listen to these people."

The Tribal Council is hard pressed to do some developing of the Burnham coal. Its current income from oil and gas is falling, and inflation and rising numbers of Navajos increase the council's expenses. Since the Navajo version of self-sufficiency is based upon sale of resources, enormous amounts of money must come from some source.

But previous experience with strip mining has caused a lot of hard feelings. At the Peabody mine on Black Mesa, issues like pumping of ground water or relocation of families have caused unending rancor.

When William Mounce, an attorney for El Paso Natural Gas Company, presented his case to the Navajo Tribal Council, he promptly ran afoul of some deeply-ingrained feelings. He told his audience that the lease he proposed had nothing to do with coal gasification plants, but simply with mining. The gasification would come up later, he said. He also told the Tribal Council it had already negotiated away the coal, and El Paso Gas was only offering them a second chance as a favor for old times sake. He presented the alternatives — either the Navajos could accept the new lease with grace, or they would be pushed aside while El Paso stripped the coal under the old agreement.

But effective education by the Arthurs gave the council members the ammunition they needed to beat Mounce into a retreat. But the matter was settled by Annie Wauneka. As the *Boston Globe* described the occasion in an article by Janet Riddell and Sam Bingham:

"... all conversation stopped. Wauneka is the Golda Meir of Navajo politics, and for 24 years in the council, her quick wit and unflinching candor have reddened the ears of great and small alike. The daughter of Chee Dodge, the tribe's first chairman, she has earned considerable respect during a lifetime of service.

"First she chided her own colleagues. Had the council committees which recommended this lease even read it? No, it later turned out. They had never even seen the full contract — only short favorable summaries.

"Then she turned on the El Paso attorney. If the lease bore no relation to gasification, she asked, why did the document make so many detailed references to gasification plants within the first ten pages? Waving an underline copy of the old lease, she pointed out that it would expire in three years unless El Paso actually is mining coal."

Peter MacDonald was caught in the middle on this debate, in which he remained silent. He had often spoken publicly of his intent to make the U.S. pay the full measure for exploitation of native resources. He had criticized his predecessor for signing the old lease. But on the other hand, he had presented the new lease favorable to the council committees, and his long-range policies depend on coal development.

George Vlassis counseled against having a confrontation with El Paso over the lease. Maybe there would be costly suits, and maybe if the company were pushed too far, the chances for any coal development would be killed.

The council unanimously tabled the issue, but the matter will come up again and again, not only with El Paso, but with another giant energy consortium known as WESCO which wants to go into gasification near Burnham Chapter. With each new round, the lobbying will become stronger, the issues more complex, and the pressures on the councilmen will become more agonizing.

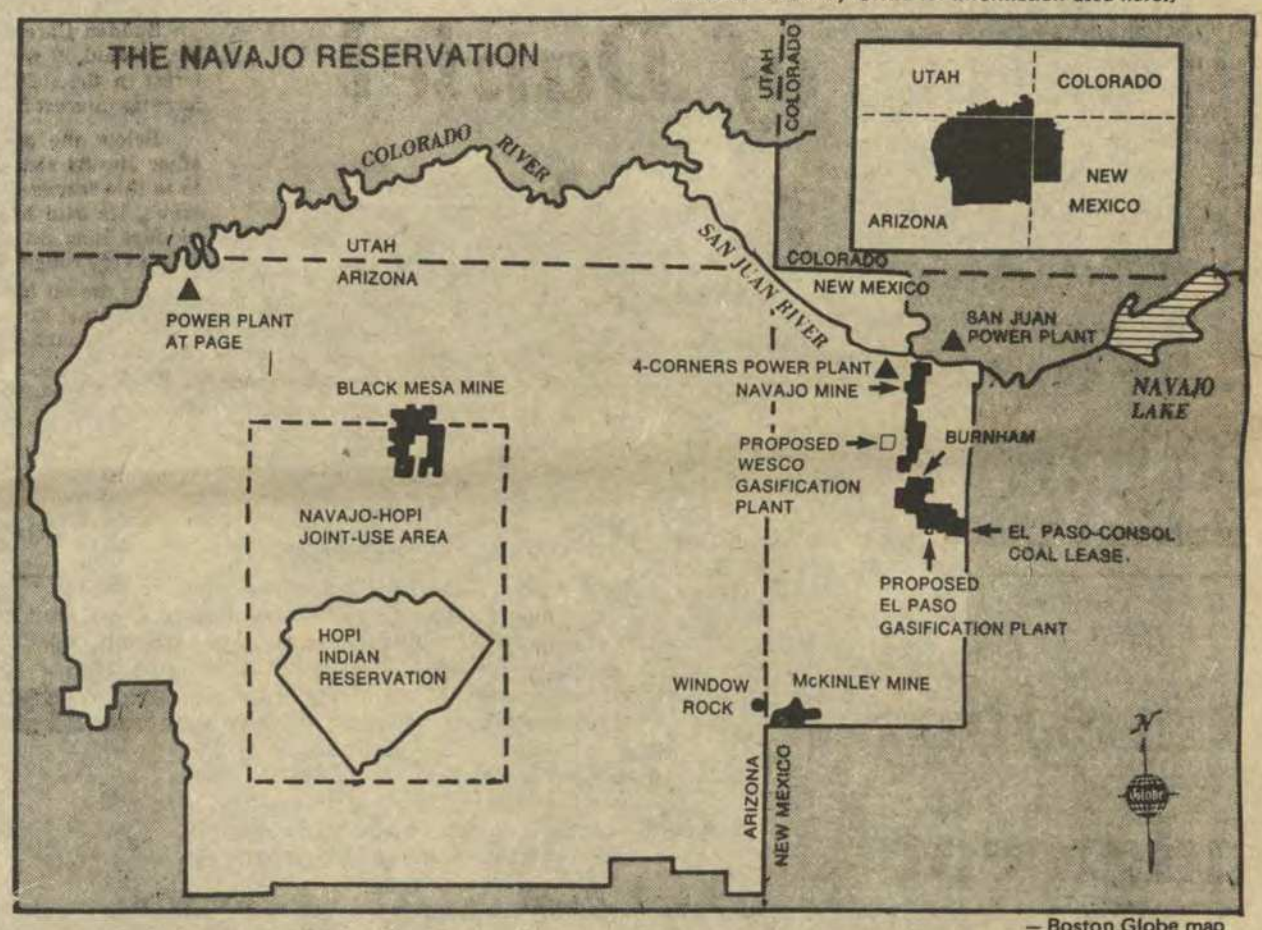
One of the groups fighting the hardest against gasification is the National Indian Youth Council. Further information about how individuals and groups can aid NIYC in their effort can be obtained from:

National Indian Youth Council, Inc.
201 Hermosa N.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108
telephone (505) 266-7966

On November 11, the U.S. House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to strike two sections in the Energy Research and Development Authorization Act [ERDA] that would provide $6-billion in federal loan guarantees to the synthetic fuels industry, including coal gasification. ERDA had passed the Senate two days earlier 80-10.

WESCO has said that the federal guarantees were necessary if it was to proceed. WESCO's parents are Pacific Lighting Corporation, and Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation. Officials say that costs have doubled since plans were first drawn up in 1973, and now a plant will cost $1-billion. At least 4,000 workers would be imported to handle the construction. NIYC had called the federal guarantee program the worst in corporate socialism and neo-colonialism combined.

[Thanks to Philip Reno and the Nation, to Carrol W. Cagle and Newsday, to Tom Barry of Seer's Catalogue, the United Mine Worker's Journal, and to Janet Riddell and Sam Bingham and the Boston Sunday Globe for information used here.]



— Boston Globe map

Coal mines and power plants dot the Navajo reservation and are clustered around Burnham to the east (right). Two coal gasification plants are under consideration there. Inset shows location of reservation on four-state border.

TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES TO START AGAIN ON FOUR-MONTH CARAVAN

A caravan of native people from across the land will soon be moving slowly toward Washington, D.C., When the Trail of Broken Treaties presented its Twenty Points to the U.S. Government in 1972, it asked for certain actions by July 4, 1976. Trail leader Sid Mills of Frank's Landing says, "We're keeping our appointment to find out the answer the U.S. has for us."

There are to be two caravans — one will leave Seattle on March 19, sped four days in Montana, and then head for Fort Laramie. From there, the caravan will move slowly, moving as a "truth squad" with the American Wagon Train, a Bicentennial project, on its four-month trek to Valley Forge.

From May 13-17, the caravan will be in Lawrence, Kansas, for a Sovereign Native American Women's Conference, which will also be a rallying point for the caravan participants.

"The question of Indian Survival is so acute that we will leave homes, jobs, and families to take this 4-month period to journey to Washington to seek redress, and to call for a Joint Session of Congress," said a statement from the Survival of American Indians Association. Further information can be obtained from them by writing POBox 719, Tacoma, Washington 98401, or telephoning (206) 456-1375 or (206) 522-3134.

TIDBITS

Additional funding is being sought to permit the expansion of the program and to assure in-depth research can be accomplished. Contact:

Institute for the Development of Indian Law
927 15th St., NW Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20005

[One of the publications of the Institute is "Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission of 1867-1868", a transcription of the minutes of who said what when the treaty was being discussed and signed. This paperback volume of 176 pages is available from AKWESASNE NOTES at $7 postpaid.]

Trent University requires a "Lecuter in Iroquois Studies" to conduct classes in oral Mohawk and in Iroquois history and traditions. For further information, contact: Professor Joseph Couture, Chairman, Dept. of Native Studies, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario K9J 7B8

Washington, D.C. — A new "American Indian Treaty Defense Program" has begun under the auspices of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law here. The program is designed to provide legal assistance along with historical and ethnological research in cases involving major issues of Indian sovereignty and treaty rights.

The program is now headed by Tim Coulter, an attorney now representing the Mohawks at the Ganienkeh settlement in the Adirondacks, and others of the Six Nations Confederacy. He says the purpose of the work is to develop the application of international legal principles to affairs between native nations and the United States or other countries. Currently, "Indian Affairs" are usually regarded as "internal affairs" and the rules of domestic law apply, with disasterous effects to native nations.

Coulter said the Institute's program begins with the hypothesis that legitimate native governments are sovereign — they are entitled to be treated as nations. If this is so, he reasons, then native governments are entitled to have their treaties and legal relationships with other nations governed by international ly-accepted principles, rather than to be subject to the whims of Congress and U.S. courts.

Because only two lawyers will be involved in the program, only a few cases at a time will be handled, but the effects of these selected cases will be far-reaching. The lawyers will work as a team with historians and other research specialists.

The calligraphy on this poster is by Veronica Chapman, and the photo is of Chief Curlyhead, a Blackfoot. This poster is one of a series published by AKWESASNE NOTES, available printed on heavy colored poster paper, 17x22, at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube and handling for each order. Write: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683

Christian Missionaries & Cultural Imperialism

The Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics is coming more and more under attack by native peoples and governments which formerly welcomed it with open arms.

In Peru and in Colombia, WBT/SIL has come under intense criticism in recent months. Mexico has already banned it. Accusations against the missionary organization have been flying thick and fast, and in Bogotá the status of WBT/SIL has been debated in the congress.

In Colombia, President Alfonso López Michelsen announced October 14 that SIL will be gradually phased out, ending a contract signed in 1962. Other evangelical groups are also being scrutinized.

An opposition deputy congressman has accused it of everything from spying for the CIA to the sterilization of native women. Other charges have included drug and jewel smuggling, acting as a cover for the establishment of a U.S. military base, helping landowners and foreign oil companies, and even teaching the U.S. military obscure native languages which they used as a safe means of radio communication in Vietnam. Similar charges have come from Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

Even Colombia's chief of security police, General José Joaquín Matallana, concluded after an investigation that WBT/SIL's contract should not be renewed, for the presence of foreign missionaries among native people subjected them to 'cultural suicide'.

SIL must have thought the Colombian Government was ungrateful – after all, in 1970 when the Guahibo People rebelled against having people invade and settle their land, SIL had provided air and radio support, plus interpreters, for the army and police who came in to suppress the rebellion.

In Peru, where SIL has been working since 1945, its subsidiary, the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service [JAARS] has been training mechanics and pilots for the Peruvian Army, as well as providing air support for remote military posts.

Last October, professors and students of San Marcos University in Lima, Peru, demanded the immediate expulsion of WBT/SIL from Peruvian territory, accusing it of genocidal activities and imperialist penetration. The Peruvians said that SIL teams carry out research projects all over the Peruvian jungle and mountains to establish social control over a large part of the native groups, employing methods of cultural dissociation, alienation, and psychological conditioning. They added that SIL is trying to build up a social structure which could be utilized in favor of the interests of U.S. imperialism and against Peru.

***El Dia*, a Mexican newspaper, says WBT/SIL "was used by the CIA as a vehicle for penetrating the indigenous communities." The newspaper also accuses the group of conducting various medical experiments using native peoples in southern Veracruz. In Panama, the Cultural Workers Front has made similar accusations.**

In Ecuador, SIL has worked closely with Gulf, Texaco and Shell to open up Auca, Cofuna, and other Indian lands for invasion and exploitation. In fact, SIL boasts proudly that the Shell invasion of Auca lands would not have been possible without SIL help.

SIL's own ideology says that their work is conducted on two levels – the practical and the spiritual. The struggle between the United States and "Communism" and between Civilization and Savagery are merely physical forms of the struggle between God and Satan. The spiritual advancement of God is expressed in terms of the military advancement of the U.S.A.

Whatever the truth about the more dramatic accusations, WBT/SIL clearly has charges of cultural imperialism to answer. At their least zealous, its members claim that strong religious beliefs provide isolated native communities with a 'buffer' against the cultural shock brought on by integration, which they see as inevitable and desirable.

The Wycliffe [Bible Translators, Inc.] position is that these primitive peoples have never heard that any alternative to their own mythology exists, and that therefore by explaining Christianity, they are giving them the chance to make an informed choice... Is it wrong for the linguists to tell the natives about beliefs held by so large a proportion of world peoples?"

Nicole Maxwell
In Answer to NACLA

The Christian Missionary is a sacred institution in North America, and like other sacred institutions, it *has been protected by a system of defenses which teach persons not to question or criticize the institu*tion. The Christian Missionary has been surrounded by an aura of mystery and divine sanction which fills its beholders with awe.

The Christian Missionary has been accepted as an act of faith. An image of the Christian Missionary based on a romantic notion of the Nineteenth Century missionaries to Hawaii and the South Sea Islands is loyally cultivated today by aging Sunday School teachers and is bolstered by the longing for adventure that is quest of the Anglo peoples of North America.

As a result, the Christian Missionary has intellectually been put at such a distance from those who faithfully protect and financially support the missions that these people no longer have any real idea who the Christian Missionary is, nor what he does, nor how he does it.

In reality, the idealized image does not exist. There is a need to examine the Christian Missionary as he is and works – it is the task of demystification.

For the past eight years, my work with the Amuesha People of the Upper Amazon Basin has brought me into contact with many missionaries of different persuasions. I have been a witness to the Christian Missionary in action.

The Amuesha are one of the many small nations with a distinct language and culture located in the Amazonian area of Peru. There are today roughly 3500 Amuesha living in the forest-covered portions of the departments of Pasco and Huanuco in central Peru, divided into 45 small groups ranging in size from a few to almost one hundred families. All Amuesha practice subsistence agriculture, supplementing their garden produce with protein from hunting and fishing, and with cash from rudimentary commercial agriculture.

The first Christian Missionaries among the Amuesha were the Spanish of the Roman Catholic Franciscan Order who have worked in the central jungle for more than three hundred years. At one point, they had established a chain of eight mission posts linking together several thousand Amuesha. Today, there is but one Franciscan Mission among the Amuesha – it is located at Quillazu. My work with the Amuesha peoples there has brought me into direct confrontation with the Franciscan missionaries over the administration of Amuesha lands and resources. Today, their influence over the Amuesha is almost nil.

North American Christian Missionaries of the Seventh Day Adventist Church have worked among the Campa and Amuesha people in central Peru for almost 50 years. Their influence among the Amuesha has been small – today they maintain one outpost on the upper Palcazu River.

I first came into contact with the fundamentalist missionaries of the Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics (WBT/SIL) in 1968 when I visited their offices at the Ministry of Education in Lima to solicit their support for the developing struggle to obtain titles for Amuesha land. Though their hoped-for support never materialized beyond encouraging words, I continued to have contact with them for the next several years, working with them on a technical training project with the Amuesha, and *visiting their base of operations several times.*

The WBT/SIL was founded in 1934 by William Cameron Townsend, who after spending some time in Central America as a missionary and experiencing the frustration of the language barrier, advocated the need to combine the techniques of modern descriptive linguistics with missionary work, and in particular, the translation of the New Testament of the Christian Bible into native languages.

Today, with the support of private and church-sponsored donations from the USA, grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and from such U.S.-based church organizations as the World Church Service, the WBT/SIL is working on translating the Bible into several hundreds of languages in 23 countries – including Canada and the United States.

The WBT/SIL is a "two-faced" organization. The Wycliffe Bible Translators Inc. represents perhaps the truer face of their work – the conversion of the "heathen tribes" through the translation of the Bible into the tribal language. This is the face of the traditional Christian Missionary and civilizer of the unknown. It is the face shown to the folks back home, to the churchgoers of America whose yearly pledges pay for much of the operating expenses of the organization as well as the living expenses of the individual missionaries. This face is not shown to the host-country governments, to the international funding agencies, or even, initially, to the native peoples themselves.

The other face of the organization, the Summer Institute of Linguistics represents the technical side of the translation work. This face wears the heavy make-up of an organization dedicated to the scientific study of languages. Through its affiliations with several American universities and professional linguists, the WBT/SIL initiates are given a summer training course in descriptive linguistics with an emphasis on field techniques. This enables the missionaries to learn, analyze, and eventually put the native language in writing as a prerequisite for translating the Bible.

From this point, the next step is to teach the native person to read and write his own language – how else can he read the newly-translated Bible? Thus the SIL face is also involved in programs of bilingual education in their host countries. In fact, their willingness to establish bilingual education programs (to civilize the savages, or to each the national languages to ethnic minorities) is their best selling point with host-country governments, and allows them to establish themselves officially within the Ministries of Education.

Both parties get what they want from this arrangement – the government, at little expense, can rest assured that the "savages" within its territorial limits will be "civilized" and that the national language and culture will be extended, while WBT/SIL is given the freedom and official backing it wants to carry out its missionary activities.

The WBT/SIL is one organization with one single membership. But it maintains two different faces – one with an appeal to the supporters of Christian Missionary activity, and the other with an appeal to supporters of bilingual education and linguistic work. These identities are kept very separate, each reserved for its own audience, each revealed according to the *image required for any given situation.* As is so often true, the line between public deception and public relations is very fine.

– AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Juan Reyna
Guatemalan children . . . targets of SIL?

The WBT/SIL began working in the Upper Amazon Basin of Peru in 1945 after negotiating a very favorable contract with the Ministry of Education. Many years later they spread their work to the heavily Catholic Quechua-speaking peoples of the Andean highlands. Today, almost 50 missionaries with linguistic training work individually or in pairs with 42 different language groups, including two dialects of highland Quechua.

These Christian Missionaries live, along with several hundred equally motivated norteamericano support personnel, live in a comfortably modern, embarrassingly-American compound at Yarinacosha on the outskirts of the poverty and squallor of Pucallpa, the boom town of the Peruvian jungle. The air

transport and communications branch of the organization, known as JAARS, maintains a fleet of several air and hydro-planes, as well as a sophisticated radio communications set-up to serve the needs of the missionaries.

The WBT/SIL has established and continues to oversee the program of Bilingual Education of the Jungle whose purpose is to offer an elementary education in the mother language of the monolingual, while progressively preparing him in Spanish. Every year at the Yarinaclocha base, native teacher candidates, hand-picked by the missionaries, are brought together for three months of primary education, teacher training, and evangelistic indoctrination. During the nine-month school year, these carefully-molded teachers return to their villages to relay what they have learned, using well-prepared school materials in the native tongue produced by the WBT/SIL.

True, WBT/SIL are pioneers in bilingual education, and have advocated reading and writing in the native tongue even against the greatest odds. But one cannot fail to recognize that the bilingual schools and the hand-picked teachers who operate them are the WBT/SIL's prime Christianizing wedge into the field of the "heathen". WBT/SIL makes disguised and surreptitious use of both public and bilingual education programs to carry on traditional Protestant Christian missionary activities.

Nicole Mazwell, in the quotation at the beginning of this article, says that they offer the native people a new alternative, an "informed choice". Nothing could be further from the truth. For the native people under the influence of WBT/SIL, primary education and Christian fundamentalism are one and the same thing. Adults who do not attend the bilingual school still get the message that to be literate (and all which that implies) is to be a fundamentalist Christian. Children who are educated in the system from the tender age of five years simply *become* fundamentalist Christians as they become literate. If they are to become literate, they have no choice.

NATIONS OCCUPIED BY WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS/ SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Latin America

BOLIVIA: Aroana, Aymara, Baure, Cavinena, Chacobo, Chiquitano, Chipaya, Eseejja (Chama), Guarani, Guarayo, Ignaciano, Itoanma, Movima, Pachahuara, Highland Quechua, Siriono, Tacana. Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Casilla 64, Riberalta, Beni, Bolivia is their local address.

BRAZIL: Apalaj, Apinaye, Apurina, Aripaktsa, Asurini, Bakairi, Bororo, Canela, Deni, Fulnio, Guajajara, Guarani, Hixkaryana, Jamamadi, Juma, Kadiweu, Kaingang, Kaiwa, Karaja, Kayabi, Kraho, Maku, Mamainde, Maxakali, Munduruku, Mura, Nambiquara, Palikur, Parintintin, Paresi, Satare, Terena, Txukahamei, Urubu, Waura, Xavante. 60 more are to be reported on soon. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Caixa Postal 14-2221, Brasilia, D.F., Brasil.

COLOMBIA: Arhuaco, Barasano (Southern), Barasano (N), Camsa, Carapana, Catio, Coreguaje, Cubeo, Cuiva, Desano, Guahibo, Guambiano, Guanano, Guayabero, Huitoto, Inga, Kogui, Kwaiker, Macu, Macuna, Maloyo, Muinane, Paez, Piapoco, Piratapuyo, Siona, Tatayo, Tucano, Tucano-Macu, Tunebo, Tuyuca, Yucuna. 13 more in process. Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Apartado Nacional 5787, Bogota, Colombia.

ECUADOR: Auca, Cayapa, Cofan, Colorado, Jivaro, Lowland Quechua, Secoyah. Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Casilla 1007, Quito, Ecuador.

GUATEMALA: Achi (Cubulco and Rabinal), Aguacateco, Black Carib, Cakchikel, Conob, Ixil, Jacalteco, Keekchi, Mopan Maya, Pocoman Oriental, Pocomchi, Quiche (Cantel, Chichicastenango, Cunen and Joyabaj) Tzutujil, Uspanteco, at Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Apartado 74, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

HONDURAS: Jicaque. (same address as Guatemala).

MEXICO: 94 tribal teams working in the following language groups: Amuzgo, Aztec, Chatino, Chinanteco, Chol, Chontal, Cora, Cuiteco, Huasteco, Huave, Huichol, Lacandon, Maya, Mazateco, Mixe, Mixteco, Otomi, Pame, Popoloca, Seri, Tarahumara, Tarascan, Tepehuan, Tepehua, Tojolobal, Totonaco, Trique, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Yaqui, Zapoteco, Zoque. And 40 to be entered. Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Apartado Postal 22067, Mexico 22 D.F., Mexico.

PANAMA: Bayano Cuna, Bogota, Empena, Guaymi, Paya Cuna, Waunana. Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Apartado Postal 5227, Panama 5, Republica de Panama.

PERU: Achual, Aguaruna, Amahuaca, Amarakaeri , Amueshi, Arabela, Bora, Campa, Capanahua, Cashibo, Cashinahua, Chayahuita, Cocama, Cocamilla, Culina, Huambisa, Iquito, Jebero, Jivaro, Kandoshi, Machiguenga, Marinahua, Mayoruna, Muiane, Murui, Nomatsiguenga, Ocaina, Orejon, Piro, Quechua, Santarosina, Saranahua, Shipibo, Ticuna, Urarina, Witoto, Yagua. To be entered: at least 5 more. Instituto Linguistico de Verano, Casilla 2492, Lima, Peru.

SURINAM: Carib, Djuka, Saramaccan. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Postbus 1919, Paramaribo-Zuid, Surinam.

North America

CANADA: Blackfoot, Beaver, Babine Lake Carrier, Dogrib, Micmac, Stuart Lake Carrier, Slave, Stoney. SIL, POBox 833 Calgary 2, Alberta.

UNITED STATES: Apache, Cocopa, Crow, Hopi, Kobuk River Eskimo, Koyukon, Kutchin, Lakota, Mescalero, Apache, Mikasuki Seminole, Navajo, Northern Paiute, Papago, Tewa/ Pueblo, Tiwa Pueblo, Tlingit, Towa Pueblo, Upper Kuskowin, Upper Tanana, Ute, Yupik Eskimo, Zuni Pueblo. SIL, Box 68, East Lake, Colorado 80614.

. . . & other tribes and nations too numerous to mention in Africa, East Asia & the Pacific, the Near East and South Asia . . .

Marandú Project Threatened

Asunción, Paraguay — In the early morning of December 1, 1975, the important humanitarian work of the Marandú Project among the native people of Paraguay was brutally interrupted with the arrest of anthropologist Miguel Chase Sardi and an associate, Marilyn Rehnfeldt. Since then, there are reliable reports that Chase is dead after vicious torture.

Later on December 1, police seized the Marandú files and a jeep used in the work. Three other members of the project staff were arrested later in the month: Mauricio Schwartzman, Victorio Suarez, and Gloria Estrago. Officials of the Departemento de Investigaciónes claimed they had "proof of subversive activities".

The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, composed of activist anthropologists, appealed to the Governments of Norway and Denmark to investigate. A Danish legislator went to Paraguay to investigate, but was refused permission to see Chase and his colleagues. On January 16, Denmark and Norway instructed their ambassadors in Buenos Aires to ask the ambassador of Paraguay to convey to his Government the deep concern of their respective governments. The International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, Survival International, INDIGENA and WIZA are among the many organizations cooperating in an international campaign for the release of the Marandu staff.

Paraguay is a military dictatorship supported by the United States. In 1974, Chase and others organized Marandú. Based out of the Catholic University of Asunción, this legal defense and education project was the first of its kind in the country. Its basic purpose was "to furnish Paraguayan Indian leaders with the knowledge necessary for legal defense against the crimes and abuses that members of the national society commit against Indian communities or isolated persons."

This means Marandú has been holding meetings in native communities and the capital. Native people from the 16 different language groups of Paraguay have gotten together to discuss common issues, backed up by people committed to the defense of their human and legal rights. The Indian Council of Paraguay was formed, and native people began to feel their own strength and pride. Delegates were sent to a number of international conferences of indigenous peoples.

Genocide is an active way of life in Paraguay – Indian "hunts" and sale of Indians continues to this day. [Two pamphlets by Dr. Mark Munzel – IWGIA 11 and 17 – are available from AKWESASNE NOTES detailing these practices.] If a man can prove he killed an Indian, he is exempted from military service.

In fact, much of the files seized by police from Marandú offices were documentations of cases of killings, enslavements. Not only does this mean that the papers are lost, but that Indian witnesses are in acute danger since their names are now known to the police.

Those trying to aid Chase and Marandú feel the Paraguayan Government might be sensitive to international public opinion. Thus letters can be sent to:

General Alfredo Stroessner
Palacio de Gobierno
Asunción, Paraguay

"I met Chase in 1972 at the UN Conference on the Environment in Sweden," Marie-Helene Laraque of INDIGENA says. "He had come there to testify on the condition of Indian people in his country. He is an affectionate man, full of life. We took a very protective attitude toward him, though he was older than us."

Chase was one of the authors of the 1971 Declaration of Barbados, a document which outlines the responsibility of religious missions and anthropologists to native people. It states that while native people must organize their own liberation movements, "anthropologists have an obligation to take advantage of all junctures within the present order to take action on behalf of Indian communities. Anthropologists must denounce systematically by any and all means cases of genocide, and those practices conducive to ethnocide."

Under the influence of Marandú, Indian laborers forced a Paraguayan factory to pay them the same wages they paid to whites. Other Indians ceased to work on plantations, and constituted a cooperative farm of their own. Chase published a book condemning the "systematical genocide by the skin hunters of the Chaco against the Ayoreo Indians and the killings, captures, and sellings of Guayakí (Aché) people."

Protests can also be sent or phoned to:

Miguel Solano López
Paraguayan Embassy
2400 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20008
telephone (202) 483-6960

Largely due to Chase's and Munzel's expose, an international furor was created in 1974 by the disclosure of human rights violations in Paraguay. The United Nations and Organization of American States [OAS] conducted investigations, and Paraguay started to demonstrate more concern for native peoples. In this more favorable climate, Marandú began.

Marandú has two primary activities. The first is the provision of information and services through short courses given in Indian communities. Topics include identity papers, land titles, employer obligations under the labor code, the extensive existing legislation in defense of the Indian, and sanitary and medical information. The second activity is a media campaign attacking the indifference of mainstream Paraguay toward native peoples. Chase clearly established at the outset that the project was to acknowledge and respect native customs and traditions, and to encourage the emergence of native organizations and self-development initiatives. At first, there was strong official support for the project – its inauguration in July, 1974, was attended by General Marcial Samaniego, Minister of Defense, the rector of the Catholic University, and a representative of the United States Embassy, among other officials.

The project had a steady stream of achievements which started to give Paraguay a favorable public image. In October, 1974, the Indo-American Parliament of the Southern Cone was held in San Bernardino, Paraguay, organized by Marandú. Leaders attended from Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil to exchange native viewpoints. A new organization, Consejo Directivo Indígena (Directive Council of Indigenous People) grew in influence, and Marandú announced it would submit itself to the authority and direction of the Council, probably the first time in the country's history white people had worked under the supervision of native people.

excerpts from a diary . . . . . .

. . . Santos confirmed my earlier observation that there is a real division in this community based on religious beliefs. In one group, the larger, are the "believers" who have accepted the Evangelist religion brought here by the WBT/SIL missionaries. In the other group are those who have remained faithful to the traditional Amuesha life and values, and who refuse to accept Jesus Christ as their only savior and god.

But there are very few traditional Amuesha left anymore, and the pressure on them from the missionaries and their converts is constant. Santos told me that the other day the WBT/SIL trained village nurse, who is a strong and aggressive Evangelist, came by his house. Santos, in traditional fashion, offered him some food and *yuca* beer. The nurse refused the hospitality, saying that he cannot eat the food of a "son of the devil". He then gave Santos a blistering sermon about a burning Hell awaiting all those who do not accept Jesus Christ and God's word as written in the Bible.

◆

Sepeso, April 16. I am already somewhat disappointed in having chosen this community to work in. From what I have observed so far, the people here seem much more interested in being Evangelists than in being Amuesha. The influence of the WBT/SIL missionaries, especially through the two community leaders and the bilingual school teachers, is pervasive, immediate, and strong. Everyone seems to be a "believer".

I find myself getting annoyed at times with Domingo, my language teacher, because of his attitude that there is nothing of possible value to be learned from the traditional Amuesha culture. He often shows real scorn for the world of the 'old Amuesha'. Whenever he does tell me something from the traditional *belief system, he says that today 'we* know better'.

I asked him why the WBT/SIL missionaries in their bilingual school texts changed the name of the sun from *Yompor Ror Partesha'* (Our Father) to the single word, *atsne'* (heat). He replied that the Evangelists now know, through the teachings of the WBT/SIL missionaries, that the sun is in no way divine, but was simply created by the Christian god.

The finality of his words left me with the feeling of hopelessness; his total acceptance of the Evangelist doctrine and its implied Western World View has eliminated for him all the possibilities offered by his own culture. Is this the fate of all the Amuesha? Will they all eventually succumb to the missionaries' point of view?

There is a quiet conspiracy afoot to replace Amuesha music and dance with lifeless hymns and disfigured folksongs. I was awakened early by the sound of singing in the house next to ours. The tunes were uncannily familiar – *My Darling Clementine, You Are My Sunshine, Battle Hymn of the Republic and* others. The words were Christian adaptations in Amuesha, as promoted by WBT/SIL.

In the traditional life, Amuesha families awake very early in the morning, stirring the previous night's fire back to life, singing traditional songs until the sun rises. In the evening, after the sun goes down, the family moves indoors and chews coco leaf to ward off sleep and harmful forces of the night. This too is a time for singing. Both these times the children can learn the complicated verse structure and intonations of the traditional music. Many people here still sing during these times, but now, without exception, they sing Evangelist hymns. The WBT/SIL missionaries have translated hundreds of Christian hymns into Amuesha, and adapted Christian lyrics to many European folk tunes. They have printed them in all sizes, shapes, and colors, and distributed them very generously throughout the areas of their influence. These hymns, following the same order as on the printed hymnals, have also been recorded on cassettes by the missionary and bilingual teachers. These cassettes, along with portable cassette decks – with only playback capacity – are then distributed to the bilingual teachers, community leaders, and other faithful converts to promote Christian hymn singing in the villages.

One old man told me that in the past, no one knew better than the Amuesha how to talk to Our Father. They had been known as the holy people of the central Peruvian jungle. Their religiousness cemented them together socially, politically, ethnically, and spiritually. It gave their existence a wonderful richness and meaning. It was their reason for being here on this earth.

Taking advantage of openness in religious matters which the Amuesha assumption of plurality of beliefs allows, the missionaries began introducing concepts of sin, guilt, Jesus Christ THE Savior, burning Hell, and oneness and sameness.

◆

Mueneso, April 26. In 1969, I took the two day trip upriver in a small dugout canoe against swift currents to this village, organized by the Seventh Day Adventists mission perhaps 30 years ago. The village is laid-out along a narrow landing strip used by the mission plane. At that time, the people gather every morning, evening, and all day Saturday, obeying the call of a large bell. There was a private school run by the mission with one Amuesha teacher whose salary was paid by the villagers. Though the fee was nominal by our standards, it was enough to force these people to sell their labor cheaply to the local white land owner in order to keep their children in school.

In 1973, the peacefulness of the village has been shattered by the establishment of a WBT/SIL bilingual school three years ago. About half the community, together with the Adventist missionary, protested the decision on religious grounds. Within a year, a bitter struggle erupted, and the protestors moved across the river to form a new community called Ponese. The split has been demoralising for everybody involved; members of both groups have expressed to me their sadness.

This situation is very common among the Amuesha, where similar divisions, though not always antagonistic and open, plague many of the communities I know. These divisions reflect the rivalry between the different Christian missions which are engaged in a struggle with each other to attract the greatest number of heathen souls to their particular flock. Both Adventists and WNT/SIL have staked out claims among the Amuesha villages, and have both preached intolerance towards the other religious doctrines. In the end, it is the Amuesha who lose – they become the confused victims of the missionaries' rivalry. Their national unity and their collective spirit are broken in the process.

◆

Porrayo, July 9. After travelling by raft up the Palcazu River, we cut across the forest for a two-day trek across a thickly-forested flat basin. Porrayo is very isolated. All of the adults here are refugees from the higher elevations of Oxapampa have fled from the abuses of the white settlers. There has been a WBT/SIL school and church here for about a dozen years.

My adoptive father here, Juan, said that the older people like himself don't tell their history any more because so many others make fun of it, or accuse them of lying or of making up stories. Many of the younger Amuesha now attribute their 'poverty, backwardness, and lack of civilization' to their once having believed this oral tradition. This same group usually insist that the Amuesha should be learning the 'true history' written in the Bible and in books.

I sat beside Juan at the church service held in the school. Sebastian, the school teacher, was preaching and leading the hymn singing, using materials prepared and distributed by WBT/SIL. I couldn't believe what I heard translated to me. Sebastian was telling the gathering that they were Jews because they don't believe in anything, and thus, they are killing the Christian God, just like the Jews persecuted and killed Jesus.

I couldn't get his words out of my head. I began to think of them in terms of how vulnerable a people like the Amuesha are to this kind of alienation. They have to be convinced first that their existence as it is constitutes a problem, that is, that they do not believe in anything, and thus they are killing God. Once convinced of this, they have been alienated from themselves. Then they have to be convinced that the white man's world has the solution to their problem, doubly alienated now from themselves. Finally, they must reject their own interpretation of reality because it is the problem, and accept the white man's interpretation as the solution to their problem, triply alienated from themselves.

The perpetrators of this kind of violence act with such kindness, such benevolence, and such conviction that an Amuesha is defenseless against it. Because of his traditional patterns of receiving what is offered, he cannot refuse.

The WBT/SIL causes mystification from reality, things seem to be what they are not. Before he is subjected to this kind of alientation, the Amuesha is a very profound believer in his own world, a world which is rich, full, and charged with meaning for him. Then representatives of white man's world tell him that he doesn't believe in anything, that his world is nothing, false. At the same time, he is told that if he will believe in white man's word and world, he will then be believing in something. The Christian Missionary has turned something into nothing, and nothing into something.

WBT/SIL prepares the teachers to preach alienation to their own communities, in their own language, manipulating their own concepts. But the WBT/SIL Christian Missionary keeps his hands very clean. They can still smile.

When the heart has been torn from the sacred celebrations, when the religious symbols have been rid of their traditional meaning, the vacuum created is easily filled by other aspects of the white man's world: the radio, alcohol, consumerism, Evangelism. The Amuesha become passive instruments for these forces.

When WBT/SIL translate Evangelism into the Amuesha language, they use dress up Christian Evangelism with native terminology. By manipulating the native language and concepts this way, the missionary puts an unbearable strain on the native categories of thought, and they slowly collapse, causing a terrible theological confusion for the native person. As his cultural system is based on an integrated socio-religious world view, it inevitably puts his whole world in turmoil.

This is not an insignificant nor even inevitable by-product of the meeting of two cultures, as the Christian Missionaries and their defenders would have us believe. It is a deliberate and necessary first step in the process of imposed cultural change. Only by weakening the native people's system of thought can the missionary or other Westernizer replace them with his own categories and values.

Yarinachocha, March 12. This is the central base of the WBT/SIL. I can't sleep tonight – the heat here is oppressive. Besides that, there is the constant roar of the huge electric generator keeping me awake while it turns out the electricity to keep this little piece of suburban USA, with all its shiny appliances and gadgets, street upon street of neat bungalows and ranch homes, half-hidden in the parklike surroundings, meticulously maintained by local Indians, the coolness of the missionaries' air-conditioned offices, the PX stocked with directly imported American foods and goods, unavailable elsewhere in Peru, and the endless comings-and-goings of the missionaries and their children, zooming around on their sleek new Hondas. It makes my head spin. A year and a half with the Amuesha has left me defenseless and vulnerable in this world, the world of the Christian Missionary and its monstrous contradictions. This vast organization, this 'scientific institute' dedicated to Christianizing the heathen and civilizing the savage, while wrapped in the security and comfort of suburban living here in the Peruvian jungle.

The contradictions oppress me. I have the knowledge and understanding of the profound cultural destruction which results from the WBT/SIL missionary activity, the spiritual impoverishment which they produce in the name of their god, the alienation they create among unsuspecting peoples, and the sophistication of their methods for 'civilizing' and evangelizing – the damned deviousness of their imperialism. But I also hear talk of defending the cultural integrity of the native peoples, their sincere wish to bring a 'better life' to the tribal peoples, their apparent goodness and innocence, and their round-the-clock smiles. When I am here in their nerve center, all their work looks so wonderful, so harmless, if not even helpful and ideal. Their organization is so well polished that even I can't see a spot of tarnish.

That is how it must look in the heartland of America where the dollars and cents come from to run this operation of well-polished goodness. No one wants to look at the confused and broken remains of a people that result from their work.

After all, why should there by any doubts? They have God on their side.

[This essay is transcribed from a taped conversation of Rarihokwats, editor of AKWESASNE NOTES, with Nani Sheppard, guest editor of East West Journal, *a newsmagazine for natural peoples, published at 29 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Its July issue featured "The Spirit of the Americas" and is available from the above address for 75 cents.]*

the natural world is not a free world

The task of returning to a natural life is a difficult one.

People should approach it with a deep sense of committment and they should understand that it will take generations of time to accomplish. It will not happen entirely within their own lifetime. They can create these opportunities for their children, who in turn will create them for their children.

Most people have been so deeply poisoned by the way in which they were brought up and by their alienation from the natural world that they cannot expect to rid themselves of this poison in their lifetime. But this should not dissuade them from trying. They must begin. But they must not feel that if after a week, or a month, or ten years, they have not been successful, that they have failed. They have not failed.

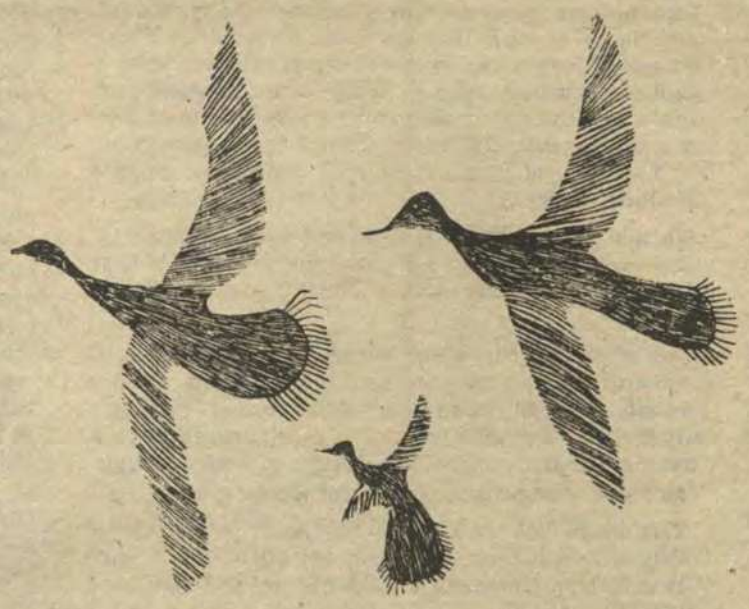
I'll try to comment on some of the problems that I see with many white people who have moved in this direction. One problem is that people have taken this as an individual quest. One of the ways in which people have been alienated is from each other. They have been so individualized that they see the situation that they are in as an individual situation. They're going to deal with it as individuals, and they're going to achieve it as individuals. When they get done, they realize that even their own children will not follow in their footsteps because they have not created a community in which those children can be raised up, and in which those children can live. So the first thing is that people must get themselves together with other people and make deep commitments to each other as relatives — as brothers and sisters, as aunts and uncles, and they must remain together and make unity one of their highest priorities — a unity under the creation, a unity following natural law as a principle which guides them and which holds them together above all other principles.

A second problem is the alienation from people other than their own age group. People are alienated from children and they are alienated from old people. Those people who get themselves together tend to get themselves together with people of the same age. These people should go to old-age homes, they should go to retirement cities, they should go to day-care centers and orphanages. They should gather together a family of people of a wide-age group. It may be difficult for people, sadly enough, to bring in their own parents or their own grandparents, and so they are going to have to seek aunts and uncles and grandmothers and grandfathers from other places and bring them together and create a family.

People also tend to think they can take on new ideas without purifying themselves of ideas which they already hold. It is like building something beautiful on a garbage heap. There is a great mixture there. The result is that we find people who are very much in tune with their own spirit and seem to be good with the land, and so on, who are very racist. We find people who are kind and good with other people but who are very materialistic. We find these mixtures of things, and so purification needs to be our number one [need]. And by whatever means people choose to purify themselves — whether this is through fasting, through meditation, through sweat lodge, or whatever way — it should be thought of as purification, purification of their bodies and purification of their spirits. It should be a constant process which people are going through. And it must be a *conscious* process.

People need to be constantly ridding themselves of their contradictions. It's sort of like trying to quit smoking or something like that. People need to do it. They have been addicted to so many things which are a part of their psyches, not only addicted to tangible things, but addicted to ways of thinking which they need to deal with.

There is also this chauvinism of the white people to be constantly thinking of themselves as sort of being "the" people in a way that they can't understand why other people do not accept them. When they talk about equality, what they are really talking about is being white. They do not understand this. They don't understand why a group of Indian people will not accept them. They do not understand why other people may not wish to join them. They do not realize that the natural world is a world of great diversity. Communities of like things existing in harmony with other communities of like things. The common denominator of the natural world is communities, not individuals. A community of white [historically-and-culturally-oriented Europeans] can live in harmony and in peace as brothers and sisters with a community of, say, Indian people. But they should not necessarily expect the white people as individuals and the Indian people as individuals to get together and form one community. I'm not saying that communities need to be set up on a racial basis — I am saying that there are already those people who have common denominators of history, language, religion, relationship, way of life, who are in fact already living together, and who should not be expected to give this up to join some huge brotherhood of man which really is not a brotherhood of man but is a disguised form of Western civilization. [We need unity in diversity] and an appreciation for diversity.



We meet a lot of white people who keep telling us of all we have in common. They should instead tell us how much they appreciate our differences.

Part of the white people's reliance on spiritual teachers is a result of what we have just discussed. If you are in a community of people your own age, you will be thinking that you are in need of a spiritual teacher, when simply you are in need of older people around you, of elders.

It is also true that you are related to this earth that is your mother. It was that Mother Earth who was the original teacher, and she is still available to teach. People can turn to the earth. They do not need someone to tell them the way of the earth. They don't need to have someone tell them the way of the sun and the moon and the waters. They can go directly to these things because all people and all things are related. In that way you turn to your relatives, your elders.

It's good to have spiritual teachers. They will emerge. You will come upon these people. You will value them when you meet them, but there are not enough exactly to go around. People do not understand that spiritual teachers also need reinforcement, they need time. They will be very careful to share their knowledge with people until they are certain that those people are worthy of that knowledge. Anything that is a part of the natural world is in danger of being exploited — spiritual teachers are those people who are closest to the natural world and therefore in the greatest danger of exploitation. They need to be very cautious in this way. People think that they can go to a spiritual teacher and in a weekend get the spiritual instruction. It will take more than that weekend for most spiritual teachers to even begin to speak. People very often interpret their silence as meaning that they don't want to tell me, they don't want to share with me what they have — and yet it has just been that these people are very impatient [and by their impatience have proved themselves unworthy.]

Also, they don't understand that spiritual people have wood to cut and gardens to tend and houses to take care of and things to do. People should not constantly expect spiritual leaders to be sitting with their legs crossed holding court and so on.

One of the other hang-ups which people have developed is the [reliance] on their incredible verbal skills. There is the expectation that spiritual people will pass on their instruction in a verbal fashion. We find that there are many people who are able to verbalize everything about the way things are supposed to be, and yet it has not been integrated into their own lives. People should expect an understanding of things in a non-verbal way. Be very careful of all those people who tell you about all they know. If they know it, they will show you, and it will not be necessary to tell you.

One of the problems which natural people constantly have is how to deal with the unnatural world. Are you open to it? If you are, you will probably be destroyed by it. If you are not open to it, how do you relate to it? How do you deal with your own feelings that you should be open with all living things? People have to develop their own answers to that question. It is my belief that the unnatural world must be naturalized before it can be trusted, that the sharing and oneness are meant to be shared with those people who also share. It is not meant to be shared with people who take. When givers meet takers, takers always win. I think one of the services which recently-naturalized people can perform for natural people is that of intermediary with the unnatural world. People who know that they are too poisoned to ever [themselves] become natural people can at least protect the natural people. They can serve as interpreters for them. They can help them in many ways in dealing with the unnatural world, and in that way, allow the natural people to remain natural.

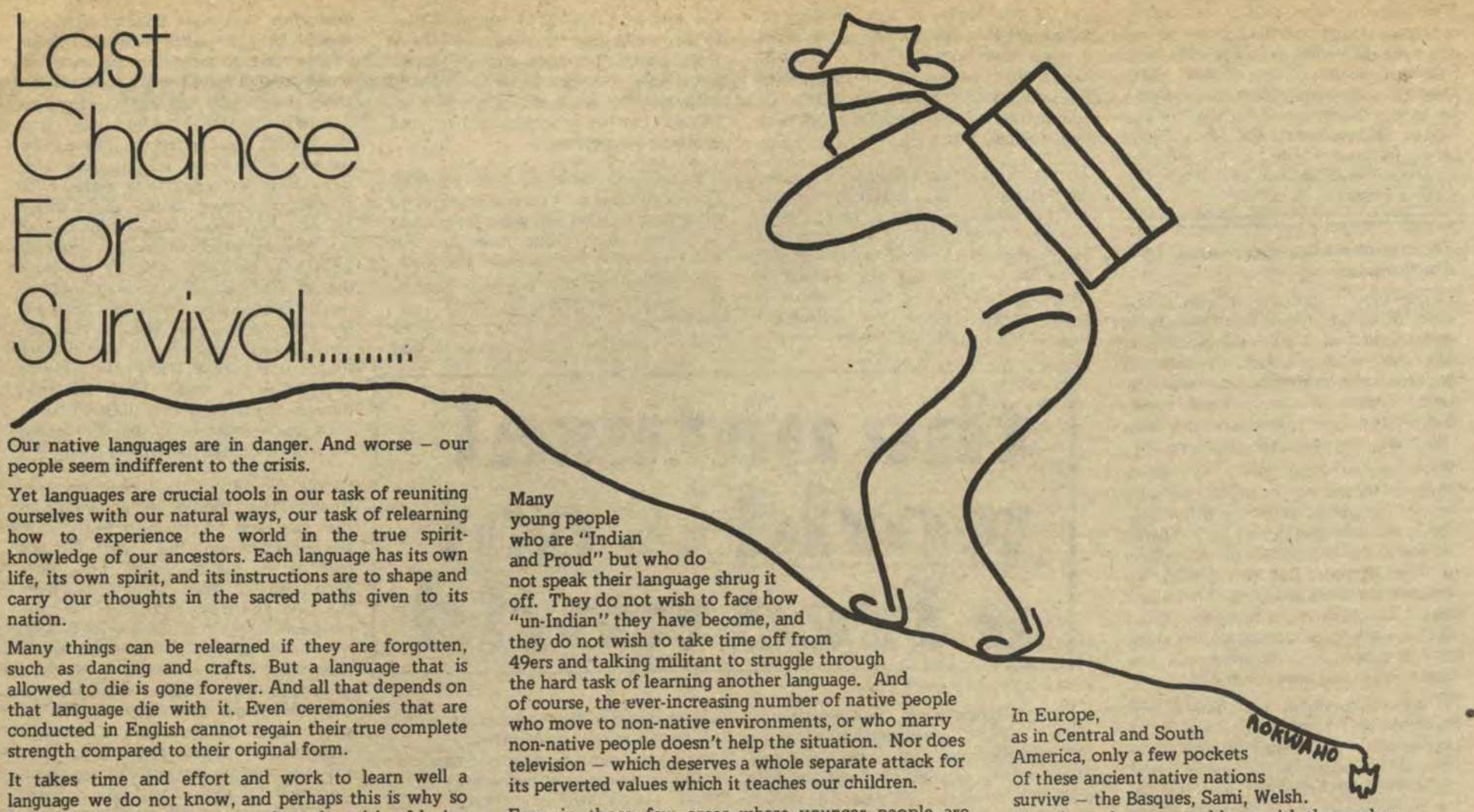
People should not try to become anything. They should understand who they are, and get back in touch with themselves because their own spirit is a part of the natural world. They have been alienated from that as well as from the land and from each other. If they can begin to get in touch first of all with their own spirits, so they can know what spirit is, and [can know] the spirit of other living people, then perhaps they will begin to be sensitive to the spirits who do not have a material presence. It is a progression. Once they have become familiar with human spirit, they will be able to talk with a living tree. If they can talk to a living tree, they can then begin, perhaps, to have an appreciation for the spirits of all the trees which once lived in that area, and all the birds and all the animals which once lived and died in that area. But if people cannot even be in touch with their own living human spirit, how can they expect to be in touch with the spirit of a tree which has gone before it? So begin in that way.

Many people do not understand that the natural world is not a free world. The natural world operates by natural law, but there are many cycles of the natural world that one has to be in harmony with. What [is to be sought] is a freedom within these cycles and within this law.
This is an incredible freedom and is much greater than the freedom which most people have experienced. It doesn't mean [however] freedom to get up when you want to and go to bed when you want to. People who are simply on a quest for freedom do not understand that the natural world is very disciplined and very hard. The natural life is a hard life and a very good life. We find a lot of white people who just don't understand that, and we have a lot of trouble in trying to coexist with them.

It is difficult for people who are engaged in a struggle to relate to people who are not in struggle, even though their goals are much the same. I think that there needs to be a realization of white people who are moving towards a more natural way that maybe, at this point in time, there is a need to struggle or a need to aid people in struggling. If they don't they might find themselves the only ones who made it and the natural world doesn't exist anymore.

I think that the time we are in is a turning point kind of thing, not in the sort of way of opening up a new chapter in history, but in starting a new book. It's a new era that is coming. The spiritual leaders talk of a time of purification. In some ways, I believe that that has already begun. The greatest purification amongst people will take place when purification is not necessary. It will be easy for people to go back to a more natural way after there is a great destruction and catastrophe — then they will have to [if they survive.] It's like the difference between starving and fasting. It is not difficult to fast when there is no food available. To have the greatest purification, you have to do it when it is not necessary to do so. I think that this is the time we are in right now.

Last Chance For Survival.....



Our native languages are in danger. And worse – our people seem indifferent to the crisis.

Yet languages are crucial tools in our task of reuniting ourselves with our natural ways, our task of relearning how to experience the world in the true spirit-knowledge of our ancestors. Each language has its own life, its own spirit, and its instructions are to shape and carry our thoughts in the sacred paths given to its nation.

Many things can be relearned if they are forgotten, such as dancing and crafts. But a language that is allowed to die is gone forever. And all that depends on that language die with it. Even ceremonies that are conducted in English cannot regain their true complete strength compared to their original form.

It takes time and effort and work to learn well a language we do not know, and perhaps this is why so many people do not want to face the crisis of losing our true tongues. Everyone is in favor of the survival of native languages – but few learn the language to help it survive.

This is also part of a greater problem – we seem not to want to admit how much we have lost. We seem to think that being proud of our "Indian heritage" and "believing" in our ancestors' ways is the same as living those ways. We seem to think that if we can shout "Indian and proud" loudly enough we can prove we are not assimilated. But we forget that the Creator gave us nations and cultures – it was someone else who gave us an identity as "Indians".

European-descended youths are "going back to the land" with farm communes – but that is not enough for native peoples. Most Europeans were so long ago robbed of their tribal traditions and languages that they don't even know what European state their great grandfathers came from, let alone what the name of their tribes might have been. But native people are close to their past, close to the custodians of their past, close to their languages and the ways of life which created those languages.

There is a reason and purpose in different peoples having their own language and way of life. These are the means of identifying each other, of seeing the world in a natural way, and of causing your life to follow natural ways. There is a reason why all natural nations that still survive today each have their unique culture – and language.

Some native people recall that their own languages were beaten out of them in the schools they attended. Nowadays, it is fashionable for schools with native students to offer "instruction" in native languages, or to teach in a native language in the primary grades. But this is tokenism of the worst sort – how fluent do U.S. children become in French, Spanish, or German – which are very close to English in every way – through their school instruction? Would the French language survive if it were regenerated only in this way? Would U.S. parents be happy if their children had to speak Mohawk or Navajo constantly, excepting for one short period a day during the school year, where English would be taught?

The current teaching of languages in this token way keeps native people from rebelling against the inhuman and destructive "educational system" designed first and foremost for the purpose of making people – native and non-native – forget how to be free. The weekly class is but frosting on an English cake. They are dangerous, because many people now believe the crisis is over and the problem has been solved.

But learning to count and say the names of animals and hello and good-bye is not learning to speak a language. Adults who enthusiastically support the classroom language-instruction programmes but who do not speak in their language to their children are contributing to the death of their language and culture.

For children who do speak their own language, schools no longer need to beat the language out of them – the message that native languages and their speakers are of inferior value and importance works just as well, and is harder to confront. What does it say, for instance, when children are told they will speak Navajo in the first two grades, but when they get older and bigger and in the higher grades, then they will be taught in English?

Many young people who are "Indian and Proud" but who do not speak their language shrug it off. They do not wish to face how "un-Indian" they have become, and they do not wish to take time off from 49ers and talking militant to struggle through the hard task of learning another language. And of course, the ever-increasing number of native people who move to non-native environments, or who marry non-native people doesn't help the situation. Nor does television – which deserves a whole separate attack for its perverted values which it teaches our children.

Even in those few areas where younger people are speaking their language, the language may not be in good health. Because their primary language of instruction is English, gradually English-type grammar and sentence structure begins to creep in, causing old people to complain that the young don't speak "properly". And more and more people use English phrases when they can't quite think of an easy way to say something in their own language. In the meantime, words with subtle shades of meaning and the ways to describe birds and animals are slipping away. It takes a good vocabulary to express complex thoughts. While an English speaker can increase her vocabulary and command by reading, or even learn words that have been in disuse for centuries, a native speaker cannot do this readily.

As a result, some of the languages which are still spoken become less and less able to carry the thoughts and hearts of people who once awed the Europeans with their oratory.

Languages were given to us as a way of knowing the Creation. Words describe the way in which our relatives of the Creation relate to our lives. Words tie the world together in an intricate network of relationships.

And not only words – the structure of a language shapes the world. English and other Indo-European languages are based on things, separate and individual, and builds up how they are acted upon. Many North American languages, however, express the world as a process, a flowing, with the subject of a happening no more important than the happening itself. Some native languages – like Chinese – do not have a past tense. The depth and meaning of such differences can be explored endlessly.

We must remember that assimilation comes in many disguises. Formerly, it was crude and brutal. Today it has a merry attractive way – but it is assimilation just the same.

One of the ways in which we become assimilated is to cause us to believe we are a race, not a group of many nations. Most of the current "Indian studies" programs teach that "Indians" are a race of people, rather than teaching that native people belong to many nations, each with a language, religion, and way of life.

This instruction encourages "Indians" to think that they can speak only English, belong to a Christian church, be president of Phillips 66, live in Detroit and still be "Indian".

This "Indian race" is a totally artificial invention. It has fringe benefits for those who sell beaded watch-bands and "Indian Power" buttons for a living, for teachers and preachers and the like.

But it spells death for our nations, our languages, or ways of life.

One needs only to look at states like Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia to see "mestizo" citizens who are like the citizens of the artificial colonial states of Europe – Britain, France, Spain. Both in France and in Mexico are descendants of the native people of the land who are no longer native, who have lost their nations, their true languages, their cultures. In both cases, artificial "nations" were created in the same way – by the conquest and destruction of the free tribal nations of the land. Kings and lords in Europe destroyed these tribal nations, already weakened by the Roman Conquest) and conquered enough territory to establish kingdoms like Spain and France. They became rich enough to extend their conquest to other continents.

In Europe, as in Central and South America, only a few pockets of these ancient native nations survive – the Basques, Sami, Welsh. They have the same problems with the modern "nations" that claim their land as do native North Americans. Few Europeans speak the language the Creator gave their ancestors, or practice their natural religions – their ancestors too were tortured and burned by the millions during the "Middle Ages" because they threatened the Church's political control.

Today, many "modern nations" of the "Third World" are trying to follow the same course. After all, Europe and the U.S. got "progress", "wealth", and "development" by stamping on their native peoples. Western-educated leaders want to "make Africa fulfill her great destiny and claim her true place in the modern world" or similar glorious statements. Here in North America, many Western-educated tribal chairmen talk the same way. Pan-Africanists usually insist that tribalism gets in the way of "national unity" so tribal peoples must be "re-educated" to give up tribal loyalties. It does not seem to occur to these leaders that if people who live as part of the Creation are resisting them, perhaps it is a sign their modern states and ways are against the ways of the Creation.

The colonial states – the so-called "modern nations" – have claimed the right to define the term "nation" and the people it will include. They define it in such a way that it applies to themselves, and excludes tribal nations – the nations placed here by the Creator.

Modern officials have a vocabulary to justify this: "The people of this area were just scattered nomadic bands with no central government. All they had in common was a common language." Canada won't even call its people "tribes", let alone nations – it prefers to talk of "bands" or "dialects".

But native nations do not have to accept or even acknowledge definitions of "nations" invented for the purpose of excluding them. They don't have to apologise for not having had bureaucracies, politicians, civil servants, elections, taxes, money, school systems, armies, police forces, courts, prisons, martial law, civil rights legislation, Departments of Conservation. In fact, native nations never needed such things to keep their people from falling apart – the Creation itself kept them together. Native nations have a sovereignty given by the Creator. When people have one spirit, one common instruction at the center of their being, they do not need a central bureaucracy to bind them together.

Certainly the native nations kept together by common spirit worked better and longer than even as powerful a "nation" as the United States.

Maybe the Canadian Government is saying something we should listen to when it scornfully says that the only thing binding a certain people together is a common language. That points out the vital role of language in making a nation one. Nations have always learned from one another by sharing skills, knowledge, ceremonies. In many places, it is language that distinguishes one nation from its neighbour, and language which changes to show when two divisions of a nation have become two nations. A language gives the people of a nation a shared world and makes them of one seeing and one feeling and one shared relationship with all the beings about them – it is this which has made the people of a nation of one spirit, binding together free individuals as one.

So, is there any meaning to the physical appearance or "race" that native American peoples tend to share? To find out, we must think back – when all peoples were still basically living by their original instructions, was there anything that all people of a given colour (red, black, yellow or white) had in common that other people did not? Nothing – except where the Creator placed them to live.

When we were placed on this land, we were given certain instructions to follow. If we no longer follow those instructions, we no longer belong to the land. Thus when we lose our way of life, "race" has no meaning at all.

And if our primary difference from "white people" is not race but way of life, bitterness against white people becomes a crutch. Certainly some people have become so weakened and crippled and hurt that a crutch is needed, but hopefully, the need will be temporary.

Being anti-"white" is just what the colonialists want, because it makes assimilation of native people so easy. They hope native people will be diverted into thinking of themselves as a "race" and hating another "race" – while in the meantime native people become as consumeristic, materialistic, destructive, individualized and lost as their "white" counterparts. Native people are coming more and more to share European values and ways, even though they hate the "white man".

It is not good enough to define ourselves as "Indian" simply by being anti-"white". A person who does do this doesn't need a language or religion or way of life to define his identity. He just has to complain that the white people stole all that. Such a person doesn't need to wonder what "Indian" really means when he is encouraged to believe it means "victim of white people".

We become victims of our own racism.

It is this sort of racism that causes "Third World" countries to fight so hard against colonial rule – and then adopt colonial ways, values and goals like "modernization", "development", and colonizing and "civilizing" their own indigenous populations when they gain independence. It is this sort of racism that makes native people and "Third World" countries believe that if they aren't white, they can't possibly be doing the same bad things.

It is this same racism that causes white people to be victimized by their own racism. What has happened to native peoples of the Americas and elsewhere in recent centuries will make sense only when white peoples realize this history is simply an extension of the conquest of the tribal nations of Europe. It makes sense when white peoples see they too were robbed of their cultures and identities and sovereignty exactly as were the native people of the America.

Since their own conquest, white people have been made to do the dirty work for their conquerors and masters – for the very kings and corporations that have kept ripping them off and holding them down. Sometimes these rulers have controlled and used them by means of physical force. Sometimes it has been by controlling their minds, sometimes by promise of privilege or reward, and most often by a combination of these. Even the explorers and conquistadores claimed native lands for their kings, not for themselves. The soldiers and settlers who risked and lost their lives while they were killing off the native people and claiming their lands gained little for themselves in the process – look at who owns most of those lands today: governments, agri-business, oil corporations.

As long as the "white race" is made to get the blame for what these rulers have done, the rulers' power is secure. Then the darker-skinned victims of these rulers can be made to believe that when they become "equal" to whites, they can overcome the oppression of the white race – even though that means that as "equal" executives of corporations they commit genocide on other native peoples, and even though it means that they have become totally dependent upon their oppressors for their every need.

White people are not free, either. For native people to struggle for "equality" means they are struggling for their share of non-freedom. Instead, they should continue to exercise leadership in the struggle for liberation of humanity.

True, non-white peoples over the past few centuries have suffered more dramatically than have white people. But still native peoples have lost less – for one thing, many still have their own languages, their ceremonies, their knowledges of how to live in harmony with the Creation. Perhaps native peoples have suffered more pain *because* they have lost less so far, *because* they can still remember what freedom is like, and know the nature of their oppression.

Native nations of North America are united not by race or colour as European teachers would have us believe. Native nations are united by their spiritual understandings, their relationship with the Creation shared by all natural beings. It is through our ways and spirituality, as expressed by our languages, that we are united. Until we understand this, we will continue to lose our cultures – and to apply for grants to save them.

Only people of unnatural life could fear cultural differences, or believe that different natural languages and natural ways divide beings. Living an unnatural life makes it possible to believe that Creation is a bunch of separate things, instead of the natural belief that the Creation is one *through* the uniqueness of each way of life – including the different ways of birds, trees, rocks, rivers, and humans. Each being strengthens its kind by being free – it never needs to try to go against the Original Instructions of its kind to be fully useful.

To follow the Creation's instructions *is* freedom. No one has to use the threat of imprisonment to force salmon to spawn or mosses to grow. To lose these instructions – to lose one's true culture – is to forget how to be free. Then all sorts of rules must be made to keep people in line. Since these artificial unnatural rules clash with the inner harmony of human beings, people must be compelled to obey them. All kinds of regulations and restrictions and requirements and penalties and punishments and fines and bureaucracies and legislation keep stacking up.

A people who have forgotten how to be free can't live without law and order, can't live without being oppressed themselves. They know, and it is true, that if these were removed, there would be chaos. They are thus afraid of freedom, afraid of other people, afraid of the natural world. And the way they respond to fear is to try to conquer that which threatens them.

From this fear, then, is born oppressive means to control "savage human nature" and oppressive ways to "uplift" people from their "animal instincts" to be "civilized" are created. The "civilized" fear those weird naked painted whooping shapes that move in the dark wilderness. But what they really fear in the "scalping redskins," "African canibals", or South Pacific "head-hunters" is the picture of irrational violence they fear in themselves.

With every part of our culture, our original instruction, that dies, we move farther back from the true peace and freedom of the Creation. As we become assimilated, we move deeper into the chaotic, violent, fascistic mess that traps the once free and natural peoples of the land.

We can no longer assume that because "Indians" are the "good guys" that we will win in the end. We cannot assume that "Indians" are different from "white people". What happened to the white nations of Europe can happen to the native peoples of North America. Look around us and say it is not happening.

When the Purification comes to cleanse our Mother of this disease, do not assume that "believing" in our ancestors' ways will mean a thing.

Since it is not of the instructions of human beings to try to force the will of one upon another, or to try to force another people to change, it is not for us to force the white people to become what they truly are to be. Instead, it is our task to try to keep the disease from spreading to more human beings – especially our own children – and to try to help those of all colours who are trying to cure themselves of this disease.

The young white people who are trying to relearn the true ways should not think of themselves as having "Indian souls". The "Indian soul" is yet another racist myth of the colonialists to make people think that the ways of the Creation are copyrighted and the private property of a race. It is a myth perpetuated to make young white people think they must deny their own selves as the Creator made them if they want to be spiritual. These young white people need native American people only to *remind* them of what *they themselves truly are*, so they may try to teach their own people how to live a natural life on this land.

The "cultural education programmes" that the colonialists pay for show how far the colonialists have come. Instead of calling our ways savage, barbaric, Satanic, now they admit that our culture is perfectly valid, just as their own (destructive) culture is perfectly valid. They try to make us believe that there is such a thing as "Indian culture" so we will believe that our different languages and distinctive ways are just minor little extra details, rather than manifestations of a way of life in harmony with a particular area of land.

Actually, the so-called "Indian way" – those things that "Indians" have in common – belong in one form or another to all human beings, even to those human beings who have "lost" them.

Being "Indian" by race has nothing to do with whether one keeps or forgets one's original instruction. We all know individual "Indians" who have totally forgotten their ways, and history tells us of native nations *before* the conquerors who also forgot their instructions. One of the greatest violations of the most basic instructions for human beings was committed by the Incas, who systematically destroyed the languages of the nations around them and forced them to speak their language, Quechua. It is fitting that those American nations who strayed the most from the original ways are those most admired by European historians.

There is no such thing as "Indian culture". Each of us human beings is shown how to live the human being way *through* the unique ways given to our own nations. As we lose our languages and lose all that makes each nation just what it is, we cannot live "the Indian way". Only one alternative is open to us – we start living as part of the disease of "civilized" man spreading over Creation.

To put it more simply, "pan-Indianism" is racism. It is eventual suicide. *Our racism is killing our languages and our nations.*

We may be able to forge a "pan-Indian" *identity* through the values we have in common, since we can still recall how real human beings act. But we cannot create a *life* based on these values if we try to say they are uniquely "Indian" just because most non-native people have forgotten them.

We do not need "pan-Indianism" to unite us. The Creation is one. The Creation is united. We are no "minority" when we are one with the grasses and stars and wind. We *are* a minority group if we abandon our relatives of the Creation to think that Creation's ways belong to something called "Indian".

Our nations have always been changing, growing, learning, teaching one another, enriching and sharing ways with one another. This is not "pan-Indianism". This is the way of all Creation. Creation's beings share their lives as one by each keeping their own identity, their own centre.

We have problems in dealing with all this, because the more we are influenced by the anti-culture of the United States, the more we forget what culture actually is.

Many young people have come to believe that losing their language hardly matters because even they can't speak their language and know little of their *own* nation's stories, history, or ceremonies, they have been encouraged to feel "Indian" There may be a sense of "Indianness" in a community most of whose members don't know their languages or the culture of their own nation, but this sense usually depends on those individuals still alive who do speak their language, and the few people who do follow the old ways, even if these individuals are sometimes ridiculed. Even those who have lost their languages are thus strengthened by those who have retained it – but when the last generation of native speakers has passed, and then the last generation to have had *contact* with native speakers has passed, see what may be left of a nation.

Another reason many persons seem to think it is possible to feel "Indian" without knowing their languages or ways is that most persons do not even have much idea of what it really feels like to be part of a true nation, a true community, all of whose people are one in Creation's ways. If we see ourselves as "Indian" as our friends, or if our values are "Indian" compared with those of the dominant society, we tend to think we have it all made.

The experience of the ancient spirit-knowledge of our nations is unfamiliar to most young people. Young people think that if they attend a ceremony and receive even a slight touch of this great Power, that they have regained the full spirituality of their ancestors. But sometime, we will have to admit that there is more to walking in our ancestors' paths of spirit power than having our lives revolve around an "Indian" label. It is immaterial if we are ashamed of being "Indian" or shout to the rooftops about how proud we are of being "Indian" – being "Indian" just ain't enough.

We must face this. We must face how much we have lost, as painful as it is. Until we face this, there is no hope for us or for the future of our nations. We will have no hope until we can admit there is more to restoring our nations than creating our own suit-and-tie bureaucracies run by "Indians" paid to "help the grassroots people". There is more to the Old Ways than ego games, power plays, and the glamor of "militancy" that often passes for an "Indian movement".

Even though some are indeed deeply spiritual and selflessly devoted to the People, but still amputated from relationship with the People and the Creation through the loss of language and ways of life, they will not be able to keep the Old Ways going even in the generation of their own children.

A nation's language sets a basic relationship to the Creation and its parts. This particular unique relationship shared by the People binds them as one. A nation's ceremonies grows as the carrying out and fulfilling of this relationship – and also the arts, myths, songs, dances, and creative spirit grow as an expression of the nation's spirit.

Even the social and political relationships within the nation grow from the relationship with the Creation. The nation lives the Oneness of Creation, so the people are one and the culture in all aspects is one. If the language dies, the foundation of this Oneness is destroyed. Even ceremonies that need no words of any language are affected by the death of the language, as by the loss of any part of the life of the original instructions, because much of the Power of the ceremonies comes from the Power of their context, the Oneness of the nation's life.

Some of us may be able to practice our spiritual values *to an extent without knowing our true languages.* But it is dangerous to convince ourselves that we have thus truly regained our ancestors' religion. We should not be satisfied that we have this for ourselves – our spiritual beliefs will mean nothing if our children and grandchildren will not have this. Without our language, our beliefs will become only a "religion", a separate category of life, when the culture is no longer in oneness.

Maybe instead of always being "proud to be Indian", we should instead learn to be *grateful*, to be humble, to be praying to be worthy of it – meaning, worthy to be human beings and worthy to belong to this Creation. We should pray to be worthy of the responsibility we have as native people, the last human beings who may remember how to be human in this Creation. We should pray for strength so that we, the last hope, will not destroy ourselves and all life.

Our nations are many thousands of years old – but now ask yourself what may be left of your nation even one thousand years from today? Can you imagine the "white man's world" in existence after even 50 years? To join that world is delayed suicide. We are told that native peoples "live in the past" when truly, native nations are the only human beings living for the life of generations of the future. If we are not living *for our nations*, then no matter how much we "go back to the land" or "natural living", it will have no meaning for it will barely affect one or two generations hence. It will be a harmless fad the colonialists will amusedly tolerate.

For those whose languages have died, their nations are already shells, a memory to identify with. Their members can only do as non-native people do, grope to regain something of freedom, of spiritual center and the natural way – and who have to start again from scratch.

But for those of us who still have the smallest chance of keeping our languages alive, a measure of one's dedication to the survival of one's nation can be how hard one is willing to work to ensure that one's children learn their languages well enough to speak it in their homes to teach their own children.

If the language is kept that strong, the spiritual ways can once again grow strong – but not the other way around. As our spiritual ways become strong, we will again be guided and taught and lead in how to conduct our lives as part of the Creation.

For many of us, this generation represents the last chance for survival – our survival.

– Gayle High Pine

ABOVE THE FRUITED PLAINS

[This essay is by a white man, Jason Mahadeva of Michigan, on the conclusions he has reached after he freed himself to examine the way of life of his people. He realizes the painful dilemma experienced by others who analyze the life-style of their people and find it lacking – "I move forward, but always with the knowledge that each step severs me further from the people I dwell among," he wrote in an accompanying letter. "I would rather have not written the essay at all," he says, "because it was compelled by the desperation and grief I see animated so constantly around me. Perhaps one day those who are insulted or angered by it will be able to remember it as some small beginning toward a deeper understanding of life. Anyway, I hope it can be accepted as such by some of the people who read it." We hope so too. The Editors.]

The most disheartening aspect of modern United States culture does not lie in the way it utilizes its productive energies, but in the way it ignores the heritage of the true American cultures.

There is so little sustenance in contemporary U.S. culture that it is possible to grow up in it without realizing that one is withering at the roots. Even if one recognizes the need to live fully and to be part of a living community, there is no place to turn.

We who have manufactured the most powerful and mystifying of civilizations seem powerless to inspire a nation of whole men and women.

All our ideals and motives contradict a living community instead of flowing from one. We appear dedicated to a "way of life" which disregards the living fabric of people. And this tragic state of affairs is compounded because in manufacturing this modern American dream, our forefathers did their damnedest to destroy one of the most integrated native peoples the world has known.

The most glaring evidence of this tragedy is that so many of the descendants of those people are abandoning their own ways in an effort to pursue this corrupting dream.

The Indian nations actively seek a whole sense of life within their cultures, and this is why it disheartens me to see modern Indians clamoring for acceptance in the civilized world. The reason the white race has ignored every aspect of the Red World is not because they are *heir to a greater vision*, but because the quality which sustained *the ancient Americans is dead and decaying* in contemporary society.

No amount of interpretations of the Indian world will awaken that sustaining spirit in the white world. But as far as the modern descendants of the native people are successful in their efforts to be accepted in modern civilization, they sever themselves from the subtle, yet deeply rooted, bonds which animated the ancient peoples of America.

There exists a bond between these natural people and the living spirit of this land which inspired the red cultures. In fact, it is difficult for those belonging to a culture that has not awakened to this spirit to even fathom what the Indians refer to as "The People" of America. They do not refer to a conglomeration of autonomous political individuals, but rather to an intricate communion of all living things.

Each native person was regarded as a voice for the whole spirit of "The People" of America, which included plants, animals, and all earthly and heavenly creations as well as men and women. All those lives composed the Community of the Great Spirit which the native people revered. When the white man attempts complex explanations of the sense which animated the red nations, he merely demonstrates the lack of any living sustenance in his own culture.

The natural peoples sought a communion in their cultures because they responded to the intimate bondage that living demands. They sought the common sustenance of all lives, rather than the attitudes which isolate men and women. Far from claiming independence from the world they inhabited, they strove to increase their contact with all living things.

The natural peoples were not embarrassed to pray to the spirit of the buffalo or bear or deer because they felt that all creations were children of one Great Spirit, and that all were brothers in Creation. The red man evoked the power common to all lives in his ceremonies in an effort to further the wholeness of his people.

The evocation of this power was the mystery, or the medicine, which simultaneously created natural man and restored him to a wholesome vision of the world. Here again, it is difficult for others to comprehend what the Indian meant by "medicine". It was not a prescription used to combat disease – the red man refers to that subtle and sensitive power which flows through and sustains the earth.

Beyond the obvious needs which compel men, the red man seeks an active communion with this mystery. His medicine is not an antagonism to disease, but a restoration to the greater spirit which breathes in them. This is why the Mandans, Mescaleros, Mohawks, and a multitude of other nations perform seasonal medicine dances, reaffirming their bonds to the Great Spirit which inspired the living world.

Natural man, the native Americans, sing and dance to commemorate and to rekindle the mystery of living. In doing so, they dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to the universe. Their ceremonies serve to reunite each man and each woman with the great mother, the Earth, and their great father, the Sun. They thank the sun daily for its blessing and revere fire as the vehicle for the creative spirit. They seek the blessings of the four directions and the four elements of the earth. Through these offerings, they are cleansed of the resentment and the ennui that oftentimes engulf people.

In rekindling the knowledge of the Great Spirit, they are restored to the living sense that unites all aspects of the universe. This communion is the health and the welfare of the native nations. And the evocation of this sensitive strength is the mystery consecrated in ceremony. Insofar as they restore men and women to the creative force of the world, these rituals remain the greatest living legacy of any culture.

Unfortunately, most white people – as well as a number of Indians – condescend to the natural ceremonies. The contemporary world ignores the spirit which sustains natural peoples of this continent, and those who have never yielded to a willing spirit can only ridicule or misconstrue the central force which animates a living community.

Native Americans follow an integral vision which flows from their lives, rather than a conceptualization of an abstract immortality. Half a century ago, the Crow chief Plenty Coups stated: "The white man told us we could benefit from their religion, but when we tried to understand it, we found that there were too many kinds of religion among the white man for us to understand, and that scarcely any two white men agreed which was the right one to learn. This bothered us a good deal until we saw that the white man did not take his religion any more seriously than he did his laws, and that he kept both of them just behind him like servants, to use them when they might do him good in his dealings with strangers. These were not our ways. We kept the laws we made, and lived our religion."

The natural peoples of America do not pursue an other-worldly eternity because they feel themselves to be an intricate part of the unfolding mystery of life. Heven and hell are considered to be as near as a man's heart, and the preservation and cultivation of life was considered the greatest sacrament.

The red people are bound to the spirit of the earth, and believe certain grounds are sacred, because at those places, they experience the quiet and abiding fruition which is the blessing of life.

The people who mature with this land are whole men and women. They are sustained both in their sense of individuality and in their sense of communal life. And they are furthered in this life just as the earth is furthered by the sun. Failing to understand that the beliefs of these people eminates from an abiding spirit, we belittle their ways of life.

Never has there been as dramatic a confrontation between two cultures as there is presently in America. I feel that we view this struggle with a distorted vision.

The fact that the white man has done so much to alter this land is not a progressive sign, but a reflection of a fundamental disorientation of values. The red man makes do with "less" because he depends on an inner resourcefulness that is ignored by the modern world. He does not give way to hysteria in times of crisis because he knows that the challenges of life have to be met with a willing heart.

While the reservation missionaries fix their gazes heavenward signing "A New Day Is Dawning", the native peoples know that each rising sun is a New Day that demands the sensitive response of his children.

In order to grasp the resourcefulness of the native peoples, we must first renew the fundamental bonds of the true American cultures. Everything the red man touches is believed to be blessed. Fires, pipes, grasses, drums, even stones become vehicles of prayer. There is no division between the ordinary and the sacred, because their "prayer" is not a mortal plea for mercy, but a heartfelt response to the offerings of life. They pray to the Sky, to the Lakes, and to the Mountains as their ancient relatives from whom they inherit the timeless gift of life. The ancient rituals wed each man and each women to this great Mystery of Life. Like the mountains, the native people consider themselves to be a integral part of the universe, and they seek an abiding knowledge of creation through these ancient forms.

This sense of belonging to the everlasting majesty of life brings the Indians to an ever-increasing awareness. The red people are not merely born in this land – each red man and red woman is born anew in the heart of the Great Spirit, and in the love they bear their mother, the Earth.

In this context, it is ironic that modern United States people boast of having created a "nation of people". The truth is that no nation has done more to destroy the living fabric which binds a native population to its homeland. We have always opposed and oppressed those who felt themselves to be the children of this land.

Whether through arrogance, malice, or sheer ignorance, we have never respected the people who endured on this continent for 30,000 years before any white man set foot upon its shores.

This disregard for the heritage of this land exposes the rot that lies at the core of the contemporary U.S. society: we are a misdirected people compelled to endorse abstract ideals because we feel no union with the life vested in this land.

Chief Standing Bear of the Sioux eloquently described the alienation of modern U.S. people: "The white man does not understand the Indian for the reason he does not understand America. He is too far removed from its formative process. The roots of the tree of his life have not grasped the rock and soil. The white man is still troubled by primitive fears. He still has in his consciousness the perils of this frontier continent, some of its fastness having still not yielded to his questing footsteps and his inquiring eyes. He shudders still with the memory of the loss of his forefathers upon its scorching deserts and forbidding mountain-tops. The man from Europe is still a foreigner and an alien. And he still hates the man who questioned his path across this continent."

The spirit of this land is vested in its natural peoples, and no amount of legal guarantees can replace the living communion which lies at the heart of the true American heritage. The white men who took this land by force are not wedded to the sustenance of the earth. Not believing in the earth's fundamental sanctity, or responding to her offerings, the white man enforced an idealism of possession within U.S. borders.

But his thoughts and deeds reveal the fact that he possesses nothing, and belongs nowhere.

The white man heartlessly destroyed whatever did not suit their shallow purposes – and the contemporary "American" is the issuance of this contemptible attitude.

Severed from a wholesome awareness, contemporary U.S. man has become a rotting psyche desperately attempting to convert this land into the capital of a bloodless ideal. Continuing to desecrate its once consecrated soil, the white man stands in opposition to the true spirit and beauty of this land.

When I was young, I fantasized that the Indians were a people who were alive where others seemed dormant or dead. Seeking a sustenance my world failed to offer, I turned to the ancient American cultures. That there is much that is uniquely enduring in the red cultures makes me pity those red men and women who abandon their own heritages in order to gain acceptance in the white world.

I do not endorse the Indian's claim to the rights and liberties guaranteed United States citizens. I am not unaware of the very real obstacles confronting the Indian people, but I know that the white world has no enduring life. There is no sustenance in our schools, in our courts, or in our professions because our world is dying at heart.

This is evident by our inability to generate anything but a cancerous way of life, despite all our energy and ideals. I have desperately sought the end of the manic cycles of unconcern and greed generated by this society, but they do not end. Nor will they end until this civilization suffocates beneath its own refuse.

So many red men and women fail to understand that the white man's propensity for production does not animate from a creative spirit. Like their ancestors four centuries ago, some Indians are still too mesmerized by our inventiveness to realize the depth of our spiritual emptiness. Our activities might be more startling and conspicuous than are the ancient ways, but this only reflects our lack of the subtle sense of Communion that the natural Americans enjoy.

Far from being superior to other people, our real genius lies in devising alternatives to an enduring way of life.

We are a people without roots, and this is why we fail to grasp that sense that has stirred in the red people since the sun melted the last glaciers which covered this land – and before.

It is the stirring of this renewed sense of life that makes the red cultures graceful. And it is this graceful animation of the tribal peoples that contradicts the presumptious notion that white civilization is a pinnacle beyond which man need not venture.

By generating the idea that we are complete and self-sufficient, we have killed the greater sense of offering demanded by life, and succeeded in fabricating a world of artificial values and needs.

We persist in the notion that we can "change the world" without redressing our perverse attitudes toward life. This is because in order to awaken to a greater life, we would first have to awaken to the fact that we lack personal vision, resourcefulness, and power.

Even our fundamental concept of power lags behind what natural man has known for eons. We refer to "nuclear" power and to "atomic" energy as external resources. The red people believe themselves to be the nuclei of the universe. For them, the transformation of matter is a spiritual undertaking – each person strips himself of the trappings and the complications of the world, and by becoming the size of an atom relative to the human world, he is transformed into a renewed source of energy.

Lacking this intimate sense of power, we have generated the myth that a nation can be strong even if its people are weak. Consequently, we have fanatically dedicated ourselves to defending a grandiose civilization, no matter what it costs in lives or blood. The modern individual is so severed from any personal sense of communion that he has become blind and deaf to the living element of the world.

As a people, U.S. citizens are commited to the desperate notion that men must impose their will on every aspect of the universe in order to survive. But no matter how great its determination, no nation can assure the survival of a people who are dead to the sensitive fabric that is necessary for all growth.

Even if we succeed in defeating every known enemy, we will still wither in the absence of an inner source of power.

Our sense of wealth has become distorted along with our sense of power, of course. The natural Americans regard the knowledge granted them by the Great Spirit to cultivate this land as their most precious wealth. Their sense of wealth is bound to the natural economy of this land, which they strive to preserve.

Because the contemporary notion of wealth ignores any sense of internal responsibility, we imagine that we can increase our lot without considering the quality of the life we are producing. This unwholesome sense of economics is as destructive as any war because it sets itself against the fundamental wealth of the spirit.

We have come to heartlessly disregard all that cannot be calculated in terms of money. As long as we persist in the notion that "wealth" is a mere matter of printing money and minting coins, we will remain severed from the deeper value of life that is invested in this land.

As the natural Americans have always known, real wealth is the issuance of a whole heart and spirit.

And as long as contemporary United States people defend the mercenary ideals the white man brought with him from Europe, they will not awaken to the fuller sense of life that is enjoyed by the red people.

In a fundamental sense, the modern American experience is a critical regression. This is why we must seek out the values of the natural Americans if we are to restore ourselves to a sense of sustenance and to a living community.

No man or woman can prosper in a world severed from a wholesome way of life. Not only the red people, but all seeking an abiding sense of life, must redress the priorities of the contemporary world. Modern society may seem abundant in terms of inventiveness, but it is actually comprised of a fragmented people who are pursuing a thousand alternatives to a living wealth.

Our people are embarrassed by the deep love the Indian shows for this land. This is why they not only waged war against him militarily, but continue the more critical effort to destroy his natural way of life. The pressure white men bring to bear upon the native Americans in an attempt to force conformity to their ways reflects their effort to ignore the desecration of this land.

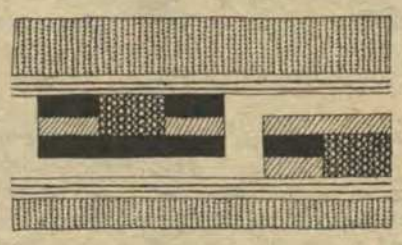
What modern Americans need is a refocusing of our fundamental vision of the living world, and not new faces animated by the same worn ideals and goals. Once we have restored our vision of the world, we can proceed to create a more fruitful life.

This will not be easy, because we have been traumatized by the desecration of this land. Thus we continue to pursue the unsubstantial affluence of this world out of desperation, rather than any hope.

It is no coincidence that those who have been so determined to destroy other cultures are so helpless in regenerating their own. Those who hoard unreal amounts of wealth are impoverished in a sense I pray the red man will never know. It is true they have stolen the red people's lands, defiled their gods, and violated their ways of life – but the red man is still not as barren as those who are not even shamed by what they have done to this majestic country.

It is sensible for the Indians to pity, rather than envy, these men. The red people are heir to the rhythms of America which their ancestors devined long ago, and they must refute the compulsive dreams of contemporary society and return to the sustenance of the earth and the guidance of the sun.

I realize that many people will accuse me of romanticizing the life of the Indian peoples, but I have no illusions in this regard. I know that many tribes quarreled with their neighbors, that there are histories of inter-tribal hostilities. I also assume that some Indian leaders were corrupt or self-serving – but on the whole, the elders understood that no one would prosper by appealing to the superficial or the petty in men. They realized that the welfare of their nation depended on the integrity of each man and woman. This is a lesson our so-called leaders seem incapable of grasping.



I have turned to the living vision of the red cultures because I've hit rock bottom in respect to the people who surround me. I could survive in isolation, but it would be only a freakish limbo. The more isolated I become in terms of this society, the greater I feel the need to dedicate myself to a living community. I know that a man or woman can blossom only in communion with other lives. I am not referring to the superficial contact which passes for communication in the United States life-style. I am referring to that deep and subtle communication which sustains and nourishes the sense of living.

I cannot prosper in opposition to the earth – and that is why I have turned to the vision of the natural Americans. I sense in them a community of men and women rooted in a fertile heritage. Here lives a wisdom that is immediate and substantial.

I have no illusions about the world I've come from. I have turned to the Indian world because I sense a living spirit stirring in its myths, in its songs, and in its peoples.

I cannot believe that the Indian way of life has died any more than I can believe that this other world has ever been fully alive. Moreover, I cannot believe that a people who were once so moved by the awesome beauty of this land can be deceived by the veneer of civilization. This is why I feel that the Indian peoples will one day awaken to incorporate the bitter lessons of this civilization into their own greater heritage.

Perhaps this recent rupture in the long history of the red peoples is necessary to teach red nations the need to seek a greater life within their own community. Perhaps the ancient medicine dream of a resurrected people will issue from the womb of this turmoil and hardship. What I am certain of is that only those who aspire to a life other than the one civilization offers will be restored to the greater spirit of this land.

The real America still stirs in the hearts of her beloved people, and it will live in them once again.

The children of America will take root and flourish like trees. This can happen only as they relinquish the compulsions the present culture mistakes for sustenance. The real Americans will grow by renewing the living vision of this land, handed to them from ancient times.

We must all learn to live by the values of the red man. Sustenance demands willingness, and if necessary, we must be materially poor and hungry and naked. But we must not barter our visions for a place within this degenerating culture. We must not seek sanctuary in this idealized world, because in spite of its apparent security, it is barren, and dependency on its ways can only weaken a more fundamental sense of life.

Those men and women who lust after a place in the white world are laboring under a misconception – it is the white men who are the vanishing race.

They are shadows of men and women. They have set themselves against the grain of this land, and are suffering from a very real sickness of the spirit. Beneath their grandiose display of wealth and power, they are poor and miserable. They must die each day, severed further from the hope of restoration or of a lasting peace on earth. They live daily in the vain effort to forget what they are, what they have done, and what they continue to do to the life around them.

WESTERN PEOPLES ~~~

The final response to anxiety involves withdrawal. Some people, when confronted with the uncertainties of personal relationships, and who neither submit to authority nor develop compulsive greed for power, simply seek to put distance between themselves and the world. This takes a number of forms, but often results in people withdrawing to themselves and participating as little as possible with other people. There is also blurring the anxiety by retreating behind a curtain of drugs and/or alcohol. Some try to sleep a lot. Others commit suicide – death is the most final and complete withdrawal from anxiety, whatever the cause.

There is a fifth possible response, but one which Western people are encouraged not to use, and are rarely trained to use. Schools teach people how to more successfully compete for affection. They teach how to reach careers with increased amounts of money and/or control. To a degree, they teach ways of escape and withdrawal – look at the amazing amount of senseless diversions available to students on any campus.

But they don't teach people how to change the situation causing the distress of anxiety. The culture, the "system", the way of life are presented as unchangeable, mandated by God, history, and charts of progress. In fact, a whole system of "therapy" by counselors, clergymen, and psychiatrists has been set up to help people to "adjust", while leaving unchanged the root of the anxieties.

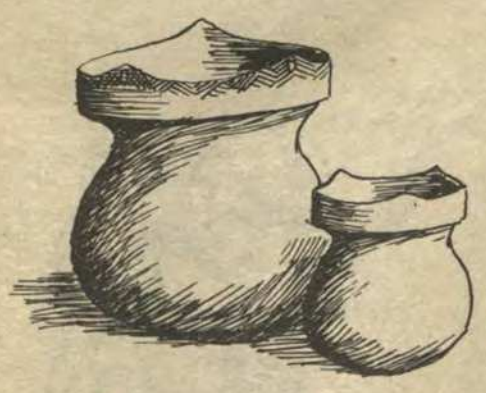
Persons who rebel against the anxiety-producing system are called maladjusted, neurotic, hyperactive, behavior problems, criminal, insane. Perhaps it is the people who have adjusted their attitudes, those who are considered "normal" or "adjusted" according to Western values, who are really in trouble, for surely they are the deviants from the natural laws which govern the Creation.

In a world faced with crises of pollution, poverty, food shortage, rising fascism, failures of economy, crumbling institutions, the person of Western culture who has a high degree of anxiety is probably reacting in a very healthy fashion. But the only ways such persons have been taught to handle anxiety only contribute to the crises, or, at worst, allow the crises to continue.

Persons who have some degree of intelligence will realize they have been had – they have been betrayed by their forebears, by their nation, by their culture, by their education, because they don't know how to change the system. They can't even change their lives, it seems, in many cases.

Such persons may realize that they live in a culture which creates behaviour patterns which have been so destructive to the natural world and natural peoples. They see that people within their culture brutalize and abuse one another, continuing the practice of abuse until no one exists within the culture who can resist becoming part of the behavior pattern. There are few people in the culture who are not guilty of directing abuse toward other people – there are no living saints in the West.

While there are good reasons why Western people are the way they are, this does not mean they will like themselves. Nor does it mean they will be adopting human standards of behavior. Being driven by needs of reassurance in a world where you can believe almost no one and trust almost no one may be a normal reaction, but it is also a formula which denies a person access to true affection, and leads people to continue the circle of untruth and unfaithfulness. Being driven by ambitions for power and possessions in a world in which poverty is synonymous with slavery may be understandable – but it produces destructive cold-blooded people hostile to everything and everyone failing to serve their needs. Submitting to the authority of people driven by power needs is understandable in a world in which failure to submit results in oppression in the form of brutal force, but it also makes us participants in processes which are destroying people – and, in fact, the whole Creation.



But the disease is not the anxiety – the disease is the culture itself, and the diseased have to look to other cultures to find the cures.

One of the symptoms of the disease is that people who have it usually do not know they have it, and will deny that there is anything wrong. The culture aids them in this, by denying the existence of problems, by promoting the sickest specimens into the positions of highest authority, by providing cosmetic touches to blemishes, affording temporary relief of distressing pain.

Another unusual symptom is that people defend the disease and its symptoms.

So if individuals or groups or families are going to rid their systems of the poison of this disease, they need to recognize, somehow, that they are contaminated. They need to see as early in life as possible that people in Western culture are sick. If we understand this is a world in which people are confused, depressed, often unable to direct honest affection and are often unpredictable, we will be more understanding and less likely to suffer disappointments – which lead to our own hostilities, repressed or otherwise, and our responses to them will be both consistent and compassionate.

The Earth continues to have great healing power, and for some, retreat to the forest and an extended fast may well be the best form of treatment. Diet may have some beneficial effects – it is accepted today that food additives have some effect upon hyperactivity among young children, at least. Also, with sugar consumption (in soda pop, pies, cakes, etc.) at an astounding 115 pounds per person per year among some Western populations – more than 100 pounds above sugar consumption of Natural World people, this has undoubtedly had an effect on the nervous system, as it has affected gall disease, diabetes, coronary and ulcer infections, and decayed teeth among western peoples, especially native people who take on the Western diet.

This means it would probably be wise to abandon all processed foods, and foods containing white sugar and white flour. It is difficult to say how much diet affects people's overall state of mind, but it seems clear that processed foods, which have largely eliminated many natural vitamins from the diet and have introduced substances to which our bodies are unfamiliar, must have negative effects.

True, Western society had problems before it had food additives, but the point here is that a Western diet cannot enhance our physical conditions, and fasting can be a great help in generating spiritual strength and in finding peace of mind. Even if people acted on the fact that to obtain healthy food economically might mean they had to grow it themselves would bring tremendous benefits into their lives.

The most appropriate treatment to a disease of this nature would include a number of elements. It would include fasting and an attention to the spiritual, which would avoid the theme of man's domination over the earth, and would promote some humility in man's relationship to the natural world. In that respect, the individual would need to reject the material values of the west and to adapt something akin to Ghandi's philosophy of desirelessness as an ingredient of good physical and spiritual existence. There would be a need to reject processed and contaminated foods for the same reason, and to approach food and eating as spiritual experiences.

There is a need to approach Western people as a contaminated people, regardless of color or heritage – Indians are not exempt from the disease. Western people should be faced with an attitude similar to that suggested for alcoholics – these people are ill, but only they can help themselves, and they must recognize their illness before they can treat it. Then they must want treatment, and be willing to give up some of the pleasures gained from their disease. Until they do so, they cannot be relied upon to participate in human standards of conduct because their illness produces deviations from those standards.

Since Western culture does not support persons who do not participate in it, the appropriate strategy would require a return to a subsistence way of life as a form of good medicine. That particular way of time and insulation needs of a food economy and of necessary for the spiritual development necessary. Of the possible responses to western culture, the most logical is withdrawal – not withdrawal from life, but withdrawal from that culture. The withdrawal spoken of is not withdrawal from Western culture, not from life itself. And it is not withdrawal into an emptiness, but into the richness of the Natural World. The move is to simply redirect one's life away from things which are found to be corrosive. But the individual must turn to his way of life exclusive of expectations of community.

Of course, living in a loving, sharing community is the norm for humans – seemingly it is the Original Instruction for human beings from the Creation. But communities are gatherings of individuals engaged in some cooperative purpose. Truly primitive people have not survived contact with Western man. To re-establish community, where human standards of conduct are once again normal standards, where truthfulness and constancy and trust are possible and in fact normal, there is a need to promote the purification of the individual toward these goals. That purification must be initiated by the individual – he cannot ask the community do do it for him.

Since the problem involves what we generally describe as materialism, possessiveness, exaggerated needs of reassurance, a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness, it is important that the process of treatment be designed to release people from these needs. The treatment must involve a release from needs to dominate, or be dominated, *to possess or to have power over, to be reassured when all reassurance must be false.*

Many people believe that a "traditional lifestyle" is an appropriate strategy to the problems of our people and our times. They wonder what they, living in Los Angeles or Chicago, can do. Knowing there are no communities in the city, they wonder, where can we go? How can we leave this corrosive way of life?

First of all, it must be understood that the "traditional lifestyle" is following the Original Instructions given to all human beings in the Beginning. It is a harmony with all living things, a sharing, cooperative, loving life-style, etc. – all else are embellishments and regional variations.

The answers to the "what can I do?" question are ones people generally do not want to hear. One of the symptoms of the Western disease is helplessness. Another is an exaggerated fear that the individual is truly helpless. People withdraw from moves away from the city to the Natural World because they believe they would starve to death. This is not a rational fear – you simply will not starve to death, but there are many changes which you may find uncomfortable.

Those who are in a major city, have never planted a seed or cut a stick of wood, have never experienced a sweat lodge or gone on a fast should not seek first to "learn the traditional ways". Try as a first step, instead, purification through fasting.

[continued on next page]

Fasting may seem like a small thing to do. But for those who feel helpless, it is a first and basic step in taking control – again – of your own life. It is a real activity, an exercise in overcoming helplessness, a refocusing of a sense of reality which will give us the strength and ability to take on the hard tasks.

Take life one day at a time. Go 24 hours without alcohol. Without buying something. Without white sugar and additives. If you are healthy, and not pregnant or nursing, try – just once – going 24 hours without food. Go a day without telling someone what to do. How about trying for two days, now? Go without watching television.

We have been educated to really be helpless. It is not our imagination – without grocery stores, city people would be starving, not fasting. There is a difference – fasting is something you undertake to do, while being hungry or starving is usually an involuntary experience.

The inability of most people to return to a natural lifestyle is more of a matter of psychology than of material conditions. When most people think about being self-sufficient, their thoughts turn to 19th Century America, when people lived in large farm-houses, had cattle, horses, many acres of land, fruit trees, and any number of possessions. Without those possessions, many people will say, self-sufficiency is impossible. But a farm of that description would cost many thousands of dollars, and the people who built and occupied those farms were hardly Natural World people – in fact, many of them built their farms on the blood and bones of the native people.

So we need to ask many questions – what does a true Natural World lifestyle include? What is absent in a Natural World lifestyle? If there is to be real change, the Good Medicine Life, its future participants must come to an understanding of what they are trying to do. To cease the feeling of helplessness, an individual must come to a new understanding of his/her needs. And owning a 19th Century farm,which today might be worth $100,000, is not needed. If this is what you want, you are still possessed by the disease you seek to escape. And unless you are very wealthy, you are, in fact, helpless.

Families used to be self-sufficient in other ways besides food. They made the tools they used, and the clothes they wore. They built the house they lived in, and tended to their sick and lame. They taught their children, and often buried their dead. And as they did these things, they learned to care for each other.

We need to remember that historically, it has been these same things – anxiety, submission, helplessness – that have caused native people to lose their natural ways and their independence. And we need to remember too that while we try to achieve cultural survival, the schools, the television, and our assimilated friends continue to draw us deeper and deeper into this false way of being.

As the family shifted from being a place of support, persons lost contact with people one could count on. While the Western Society still sentimentally talks about its "family structure", this is now largely rhetoric for the vast majority of people. As the family ceased to be a unit of production, however, it became a unit of consumption. The family who consumes together stays together is the motto. All the other basic activities have been taken on by other institutions. Child raising, in particular, has been handed over to the state, whose schools are agents of the consumer ideology.

Changes are going to occur whether we want them to or not. The Natural World is going to purify itself. Materialism is already out of the reach of many people, and soon maybe food costs will be out of the reach of most families, indeed, if there is food available to purchase at all, even adulterated chemical food. So the question isn't whether the Western world will continue without us. The real question is – will we know how to live and survive in the Natural World when that is the only world left?

THE REAL AMERICAN DREAM

[This essay is by Red Sun Rising, who combined reading and research with fasting and prayer to write it. He said it was not his intention to suggest that "we water down the many forms of worship for the sake of trying to please everyone – I am merely pursuing a certain feeling regarding a possible form of reality we could all benefit from as humans upon the earth.

He notes that "Being Indian but living like whitemen, and being white but feeling and thinking like an Indian seems to be calling out for a new form to express itself." We are grateful to the author for sending these insights. He can be contacted by writing him at Route 1, Box 11B, Klamath Nation, via Chiloquin, Oregon 97624. The Editors.]

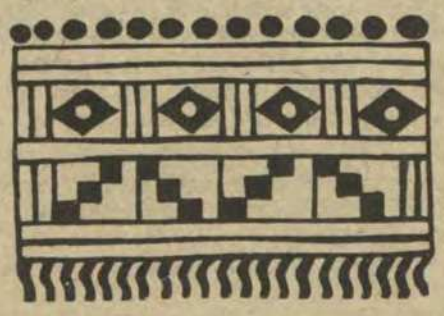
The spirit of native North American reality and Christian reality are not as far apart as some people think.

Interesting parallels can be drawn from a comparative study of the principles found in early Christianity – such as the translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls – and native American beliefs.

While we know that among The Peoples, forms of worship were diverse, we can assume a general attitude to make that comparison. Over and over again, throughout all types of stories, legends, myths, prayers, songs, ceremonies, a continual reverence is expressed towards the Earth Mother by all nations. In early years, this was a part of Christian beliefs too, it seems, although the general thrust of the history of the Christian Church and its members indicates that the Earth Mother has not recently been a valid part of their religious experience.

When the Christian Church confronts native and natural people, it attempts to co-opt them by making superficial concessions, rather than Christians themselves examining their beliefs to restore their religious values to full health. Indian people are given Bibles made palatable for Indian readers, like substituting "Great Spirit" for the word "God" in the test. Or they build their church in the form of a concrete tipi.

In the past, though, perhaps it was different for Christians. The true Western mystic or the Essene fasting and praying in isolated areas of the land and the North American visionary doing the same are both taunted with a "denial of the world" accusation. True, they actually do put aside the narrow and artificial world of men and find, in exchange, the secrets of that mighty universe which they share with nature and the Creator. Strange contacts, unknown to us who only live the life of sense, are set up between their being and the being of all other things. Hence, the barrier between human and non-human life, which makes man a stranger on the earth, is done away with.



In howling winds, in singing cricket, they hear the crying aloud of that word which is through all things everlastingly. They participate openly, actively, and with eyes wide, in the journey of the son towards the father's heart. They then see, with purged sight, all things and creatures as they are in that transcendent order, detecting in them that striving of Creation to return to its center, the secret of the universe.

St. Francis, in his communication with the birds and other little brother and sister creatures, as well as the whole of nature, is an excellent example of one bestowed with Christ-consciousness. Here are some of his words:

> *"Oh mother earth, father sky,*
> *brother wind, friend light, sweetheart water,*
> *here – take my last offering with folded hands!*
> *Because my heart became pure,*
> *and all delusion vanished,*
> *through the power of your good company."*

Among people of the Western World, such experience is relatively scarce and often misunderstood. Among the native peoples, it was not only more common, but well respected. At least they didn't crucify, persecute, or deem mad their visionaries and/or mystics. Francis would have gladly been thonged to a sun-dance pole, or entered the sweat lodge if he had met The People before the confused missionaries did.

In fact, if real Christianity had at first touched North America's soil, the doctrine of "manifest destiny" would have been without its vital corner-stone, that being the salvation of those people deemed "savage".

Why should it be insulting to Christians to say that Black Elk, like Jesus, had a vision oriented towards the healing of his people. Through the ways of the Earth Mother and Sky Father, both offered ceremonies, disciplines, and communions with these natural forces for the rebuilding of the body and raising of the spirit.

According to the Dead Sea Scrolls, when people asked Jesus to heal them, he replied that he would lead them into the kingdom of our mother's angels, where the powers of evil could not be. He told them that "the blood which runs in us is born of the blood of our earthly mother, the angel [or spiritual force] of water. The air which we breath is born of the breath of our earthly mother." This goes on and on throughout all the elements, including special uses of plants, techniques for fasting, a natural raw-food meatless diet, and procedures best described as communions with nature, all for the purpose of regenerating the body, mind, and soul.

Through these teachings, Christians can have a joyous and clear version of Christianity which can relate them to the natural world. Jesus also promised cosmic consciousness or salvation or nirvana or whatever you wish to call it to those who follow the prescribed way. Sin is then correctly interpreted as the breaking of the laws of nature, and in consequence, man comes under the destructive natural forces, or Satan, and the form of suffering comes in a multiple array of diseases that can result in death.

That the native nations of North America were innocently made to suffer from the scourges of the white man's broken laws is cruelly evident as we look at recent North American history.

Now that there is a need for the Christian peoples of North America to make a transition from city to country, this enlightened form of Christianity can add its vital strength. Their human situation is somewhat comparable to the Essenes and early Christians as they sought the natural unsettled lands far from the corruption, taxes, and inhumanity of Rome. Are we not also subject to high taxes, systems of questionable justice, plus the added effects of pollution? How about the taxes our bodies and minds and souls are paying through their addictions and bad food-habits?

It seems that the principles of natural living with the earth found both in native North America and in early Christianity can be used respectively by native people and Christians to re-establish a true balance and a lasting peace – the real American dream.

A LETTER TO WHITE PEOPLE

To My White Brothers and Sisters: Do not be frightened by the fact that white racism has been exposed. Rather, thank God and celebrate the fact that the truth has been brought to light.

If a man is seriously ill, and doctors are unable to correctly diagnose the illness, or have prescribed the wrong medicines, that is tragic! But if a doctor comes along and correctly identifies the illness before it is too late and prescribes the proper medicine, then it is time for a celebration.

The name of the illness is White Racism. A hard fact to accept, even more difficult to change – but at least it's out in the open now.

Until now, we thought the problem was in the minority peoples. We frustratingly tried to bring about changes in them. But most of those efforts failed – because the sickness was not theirs. Their problems were only our symptoms.

We have to listen to what our black/brown/red brothers and sisters have been telling us for some time: "If you want to help us solve our problems, go home and free YOUR own people."

The term "white racism" doesn't mean we are all racist bigots who consciously express hatred toward non-whites. It does mean, however, that all of us – whether we personally desire it or not – are a part of a society and culture which continuously and systematically disenfranchises its non-white population.

We are all enslaved to unconscious bigotry. We are imprisoned within a society of structured racism.

If we are conscious, willing racists, we need to repent, to be forgiven and act differently. But our deeper and more serious problem is that we are unconsciously enslaved to racism and we need to be rescued – to be set free.

Individually, most of us have thrown off our prejudices which exist on a level of rational thinking and controllable feeling. But that does not deal with irrational thoughts and uncontrollable feelings buried deep within our subconscious – thoughts and feelings of which we are barely aware and are unable to control or change.

Consciously and unconsciously, we were given an egotistical sense of superiority, a fear and hatred of those who are different, those racial myths and lies about our red, brown, yellow and black brothers and sisters.

But not only on a personal level – even more so on a corporate, public level – we are enslaved to racism. The public institutions, agencies, corporations and other formal structures of our society do not, of course, have souls which can be twisted and distorted. But from their historical foundations clear through to their present-day operations, there has been the kind of influence upon these structures which gives constant expression of enslavement to racism.

Every institution, agency, organization and corporation – our city halls, our real estate boards, our parole boards, our country clubs, our national parks. Wherever we look, we will see ourselves imprisoned by our racist structures. We may not want it to be that way, but that's the way it is. And no matter what we can do, we are not able to bring about any major change, because of our history, because of our practices, and because we exist all-to-comfortably in a society which is racist to non-whites.

It is no wonder that our brothers and sisters of other colors are not adequately served by the same institutions that serve us well. It is no wonder we fail so miserably in producing programs to "serve" non-whites.

Not only does change in the conditions of non- white peoples depend upon the end of our white racism, but our own Wholeness, our own ability to be the kind of free humans that God intends depends upon our getting out from under our own racism.

We are faced with a task that has never before been attempted. A completely new orientation must be found.

Until now we have assumed that we have a "minority problem" which requires the resources and leadership of the white society. Now we know that it is a white problem, and we must start all over again.

We need to learn exactly what it is that gives birth to our racist attitudes and action. There are many areas to deal with. Just two will be briefly described here.

History – there is a great deal that is good about American history. It should be lifted up, glorified and celebrated. But there is much that is evil about our history. It is not easy to honestly accept that. It is easier to lie. For instance, we have to deal with the lie that the white man's destruction of an entire people and culture – in the name of God, freedom and Manifest Destiny – is something to be proud of. We can no longer accuse the Germans and the Russians of genocide without coming face-to-face with our own genocide. Simply identifying Indians as "heathens" and characterizing their culture as "primitive" does not excuse, much less glorify, our genocidal destruction of a people. Each time we show a cowboys-and-Indians movie on the late show, we participate in the re-enactment of a racist lie about the darker side of our nation's history.

Secondly, concerning our relationships with people of other races and nations all over the world, we must face the fact that there is not a single non-white people anywhere on this globe that has not been colonized, exploited, subjugated or destroyed by our white Western culture.

The reason for recalling and re-interpreting these and many other facts about our history is not to repudiate and smear the greatness of our nation. Nor is it to overburden ourselves with guilt about our past. Rather it is because in doing so, we can discover why and in what ways white racism is still a problem today.

Researching white racism means to study our own communities with the same thoroughness and intensity that minority communities have been studied. Indian reservations have been the object of every kind of study conceivable to the university or governmental mind. They have been studied and restudied, searched and researched, categorized and classified until there is no single element of the reservation community that has not found its way into some bureaucratic survey or PhD. thesis.

Sociological categories have been created for everything. "Cultural deprivation," "educational deficiencies", "familial deterioration," and one-hundred other cute phrases have been created to prove to ourselves that we understand race and poverty problems.

Now the time has come to reverse the process. It is the turn of our white communities to be studied and surveyed. We need to find out what makes us think and act the way we do, individually and collectively.

We might find that some of the terms fit ourselves better than non-whites. "Cultural deprivation" is an adequate term, for instance, to describe the sterile, isolated, uncreative blandness surrounding our "ticky-tacky" ranch-style housing tracts. "Educational deficiencies" may be a proper term to describe our conformity-demanding educational system in which our children suffer by the inability to learn and relate to other cultures and styles of life.

We must study institutions, agencies, governmental structures, political practices. Every area in which the public actions of the white majority population affects the life of non-white people must come under scrutiny as we attempt to discover, define, and expose the ways in which we are enslaved to racist styles of life.

Then, of course, we will need to *seek ways to bring about change.* Our racism needs to be replaced by a style of life that represents freedom and creativity.

(This essay is adapted from one by Joseph R. Barndt, distributed by the American Lutheran Church.)

THE NEW WHITE PERSON

(This paper is adapted from one prepared by the Center for Social Change, directed by Paul Schulze. It is directed to white readers.)

Some of us whites are experiencing a new consciousness of our whiteness and feel the urge to push this awareness to its limits. We want to ask if our whiteness can stand for anything positive, and if so, what actions are required of us to deal humanely with the realities which confront us. If as white persons we seek integrity for ourselves and justice for everyone, what does the new scene require of us. Here we propose some sketchings of The New White Person.

1) THE NEW WHITE PERSON MOVES BEYOND GUILT to reality-action aimed at justice. Acknowledging our own racism and that of our society, we must mobilize for change, not out of guilt for the past, but out of commitment to the future. We need not waste time with self-incrimination or verbal abuse from others; rather let us move deliberately to discover and deal with real causes and solutions. Not forgetting the shame of our history, we can nevertheless undertake to recover a sense of integrity for ourselves and justice for others. Psychic wholeness for whites and power for non-whites are critically-urgent goals that cannot be independently achieved.

2) THE NEW WHITE PERSON VALUES SELF WORTH. Paralleling the new consciousness of others, we will value ourselves as people and celebrate our beauty. We will consider ourselves important, even before we act. Therefore we need not undertake projects to prove our worth. We will accept ourselves and act out of that security. We will no longer need to search for that liberal "good feeling." [We will no longer need to pretend we are Indians.]

3) THE NEW WHITE PERSON UNDERSTANDS POWER and the ways of dealing with those in power. If justice is to prevail, changing attitudes is not enough. Powers that determine the present must be modified or replaced by powers that will shape tomorrow. White people, too, are victims [as well as oppressors] used by those in power to maintain a racist system that locks everybody in. The future of the New White Person is not tied to the super-rich, but to those who take more responsibility for their own lives.

4) THE NEW WHITE PERSON IS A PRO-ACTOR, NOT A RE-ACTOR. We are ready to initiate change, not merely respond to bad results. We know that change will not come unless political initiative can be wrested from those committed to preserving the status quo. We will be political beings who select allies and form coalitions that can effectively challenge the powers that be.

5) THE NEW WHITE PERSON ACCEPTS "SELF-INTEREST" AS A VALID NOTION for everyone to live by. We move to the understanding that self-interest is not the same as selfishness. This does not mean that New White Persons will be "pals" with everyone, but neither will we be patron or pawn. When self-interests clash and conflict emerges, ground rules [and solutions] must be negotiated, or none will survive. On the world scene, we recognize that it will be to the realistic self-interest of Whites to learn to play an appropriate and creative role as a minority race among the colored majority, not in order to ingeniously maintain control, but to enjoy dignity in peace with other peoples who are taking power commensurate with their numbers.

6) THE NEW WHITE PERSON TAKES RISKS. If we act for change, we must expect retaliation from those who oppose us. And if our wallet is the point at which we are most vulnerable, we may need to move toward a less-expensive living standard. When we no longer require the "sweet pastries" of abundance and are willing to earn only "bread", we become free to release new energies for shaping a new society.

7) THE NEW WHITE PERSON IS OPEN TO NEW LIFE STYLES and is willing to explore new concepts of vocation and leisure, of land use, of education, of "family", for all these will flow into the picture of what will be tomorrow's more open world.

8) THE NEW WHITE PERSON IS COMMITTED TO PLURALISM. We appreciate many cultures, many groups, many persons different from ourselves. But we do not feel compelled to imitate them or demand that they be like us. Willing to live in conflict and able to endure ambiguity, as New Whites we will celebrate the many diverse capabilities and tensions within ourselves, and delight in the rich potentials of other persons and cultures.

9) THE NEW WHITE PERSON NEEDS SUPPORT GROUPS to provide the security that will encourage openness and growth. We recognize the need for kindred spirits to support our egos, maintain our sense of security, and stimulate our move into new consciousness. Support groups would provide opportunities for evaluating, strategizing, and celebrating. They would be places for honesty and love, criticism and forgiveness. Be they churches or communes, large or small, these support systems need to be cultivated in a

deliberate and conscious manner. If a non-alienating society is to become a reality, people must be in touch with themselves, and practice at first hand how to live with, be sensitive to, and respect the moods, words, and values of others. From such learning/sharing communities, people can draw strength and wisdom and forge a world community in which all people can live humanely.

'THE WHITE INDIANS'

[This essay was sent to us by the noted author, Stan Steiner. It is excerpted from a chapter of his book, The Vanishing White Man, *soon to be published by Harper & Row. An earlier chapter was published in Volume 6, No. 4 of AKWESASNE NOTES. We are grateful to Stan Steiner for his continuing thoughtfulness in sending us these provocative essays. The Editors.]*

In solemn ritual beneath the Grecian drapes embroidered with gold thread, designed by my father, the tribal officials had gathered in the East Room of the White House at the invitation of the President of the United States. Dwight Eisenhower was in a good mood – he loved Indians. And he welcomed his guests with fine words and bad jokes, as Presidents have done ever since the defeat of the tribes.

It was an ancient white ritual.

One of the elders thoughtfully had brought a peace pipe. He took it from his attache case and blessed the President.

Since the tribal officials had become accustomed to the political rituals of the whites, they came prepared. They were resplendant in headdresses of eagle and turkey feathers, with beaded necklaces dangling on the breasts of their grey business suits. In politeness they hid their humor and discomfort – but wearing the costumes of two civilizations at once did get tiresome.

That evening, in weariness, three of the elders were resting in the offices of the National Congress of American Indians, as they waited for their planes. In those days, the officers were in an aging *brownstone house near Embassy Row.* And the business-suited elders, *their* "Indian" costumes in their luggage, looked like senior civil servants.

A photographer of a leading news service came in. He had been sent to photograph "those Indians", he said, as he sat down to wait, opposite the tribal officials. He didn't recognize them without their feathers.

One hour passed. "Where are the Indians?" the photographer finally asked.

"Here," one of the tribal officials said, smiling.

The newspaper man was not amused. "I can't photograph you in business suits!" he blurted. "Don't you have some feathers? War bonnets? You know – something 'Indian'."

So, the tribal officials opened up their luggage and donned the war bonnets they had worn to entertain the President. In the morning newspapers across the country, a photograph appeared of the three old men in feathered headdresses – seen from the shoulders up. Their business suits had been cropped away.

In the eye of his camera, tne photographer had seen not men, nor Indians. He had looked into his own imagination, as if his lens was a mirror of what whites believed Indians should look like. Faced with real human beings, the photographer turned them into a white fantasy. In doing so, he turned them into "white Indians" who were clothed in the white myths that whites wished to see.

It was a strange paradox. At that time, in the 1950s, the U.S. Government had decreed that the time had come for the Vanishing Race to at long last officially vanish. They had been programmed to become white.

That was the time, during the Eisenhower years, when the Congress of the United States decided the tribes must be terminated. And the Government had, in 1953, passed a resolution favoring "Termination" to once and for all end its own treaty promises and legal responsibilities. Eleven tribes were officially declared to be non-existent. The Interior Department adopted rules to divide and lease tribal lands – to whites. Soon the People would have nothing left – except feathered headdresses.

That was the time, in the 1950s, that the "Unfinished Indian Wars" had begun again, wrote former Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. Some of the whites, he said, were convinced that the Red Indian had lost a continent, and "it was time now to square accounts with him altogether by taking away the last of his tribal property and ultimately, his tribal identity." Once that was done, the Red Indians would be replaced by White Indians. It was the act of "final termination", Collier said.

Some of The People might be reluctant to terminate themselves, the Government reasoned. And so it began a program to entice, conjole, and force them into the ghettos of the cities – which were then euphemistically known as "the Mainstream of the American Way of Life." It seemed clear to everyone, then, that rural life was backward, and the cities were the fulfillment of the "American Dream". So why deprive the tribal People of the cornucopia of wealth that was pouring forth from the shopping centers? The Government program, called "Relocation", was so successful that by the seventies, one-half of the tribal People lived in the cities.

Of course, by then, the urban whites had begun their nostalgic migration back to the rural countryside. The Circles of Life would once more turn in the Great Mystery, but that was something whites could not foresee in the 1950s.

But, why then preserve the fetish of the feathered Indians when seeking to de-*Indianize The People? It seemed mere perversity, or was it simple greed?* Maybe it was both, but maybe it was neither.

When my book, *The New Indians*, was published, I was asked to appear on NBC-TV's "Today Show". But a producer refused to permit any Indian to appear with me. "You're the expert," he said. "Hell, what do you need an Indian for?" Or as the editor of a national Sunday supplement with fifteen-million readers told me: "No! We do not want any interviews with Indians – an Indian would be biased in favor of Indians."

That was the time when a mournful elegy to the vanishing of the Vanishing Race, sorrowful with compassion, was published in the *Harvard Law Record,* titled "American Indians – People Without a Future". It was written by a young student, Ralph Nader.

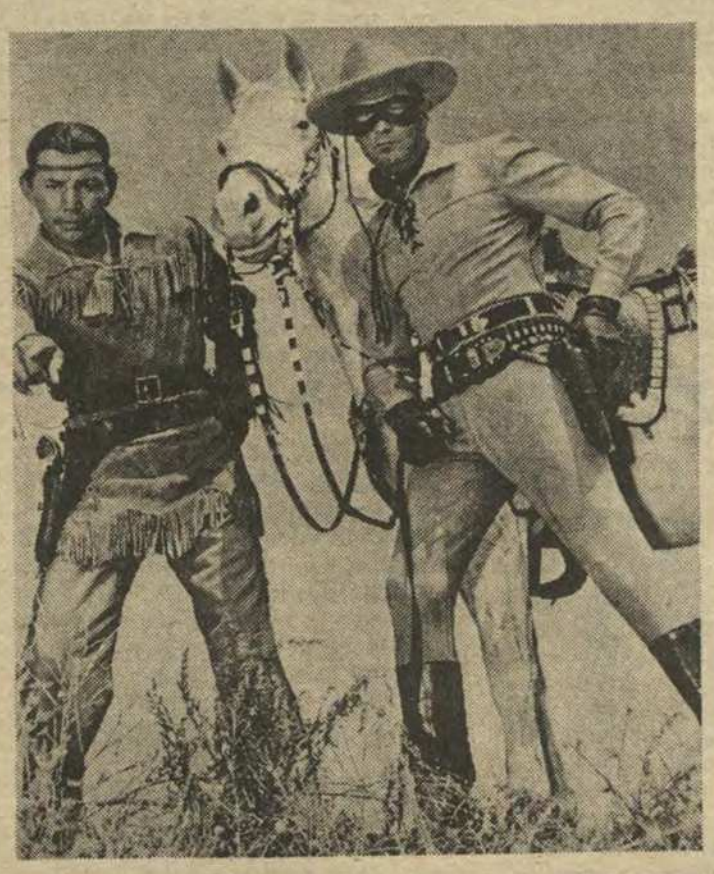
One hundred years before, a similar elegy had been offered to the Vanishing Race by a young student at West Point: "We behold him [the American Indian] now on the verge of extinction ... soon he will be talked of as a noble race who once existed but have passed away." That was written by George Armstrong Custer.

In this dreamlike world of myths and superstitions the whites believed in, there emerged the White Indian. Though he had been born of the Noble Savage invented by the early European settlers, he did not really reach maturity until he became the Vanishing Race of modern times.

Soon after the Nineteenth Century's "Indian Wars" had ended in the military defeat of some of the nations, the vanquished warriors were hired as state performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and similar circuses. Once the War Department's plans for the "annihilation of the savages" were shelved, it became fashionable to perform "Custer's Last Stand", using the very warriors who had fought in that battle. But often they were dressed in

Delores Smith, an employee at a Jackson, Nevada, casino, seems to have a real affection for this wooden Indian called Chief Thunderbolt.

This talented tribe is known as the Sabrette Dancers, a night club revue combining sexual and savage fantasies so well it doesn't matter that none of the girls or guys is Indian.



The noble Tonto, faithful "good Indian", aids the masked Lone Ranger to fulfill a million childhood fantasies.

More White Indians: "She Means Heap Big Business" was the caption on this gem.

And this is "Geronimo" Johnny Jordan, who dives from a 60-foot tower into — are you ready — an air filled "Indian Drum" at county-fairs and sportsmen's shows, carrying on an ancient tradition, no doubt.

On the women's pages, this photo is of items made by a Sauk and Fox cooperative based in Oklahoma City for middle-class housewives with a secret desire to be Pocahontas.

clothing to make them seem "more real".

The Death of the West became an entertainment.

And the Noble Savages became White Indians.

So popular was this spectacle that it toured Europe, where it was seen by Queen Victoria and it was blessed by Pope Leo XIII.

Always, in years past, whites had sought to preserve the images of The Peoples they sought to doom. By refusing to see them as they were, by ignoring them and by their inability to listen to and to comprehend them, these whites of necessity recreated them as white myths. Neither knowledge nor ignorance in any way affected them. For once the Vanishing Race was created the White Indians achieved a kind of immortality. They were to become a white totem, a touchstone, a sacreligious diety that symbolized the lost innocence of the land.

One peculiar thing about the Vanishing Race was that it was forever vanishing, but never vanished. If it did, then it would relinquish its power. So it had to go on vanishing perpetually, as if offering itself in sacrifice to surrogate belief in rebirth, a vicarious faith in America, a reaffirmation of the continuity of history for those who no longer had faith in their own history.

No matter how often the Vanishing Race was wiped out in films or fantasies, it always reappeared. It had to.

And that may be one reason why the Vanishing Race has been so popular — they were survivors.

In each generation, there has been a revival of interest in the White Indians. The "Indian fad" has been reborn every twenty years, said Frederick Dockstader, former director of the Museum of the American Indian in New York. But, he said tartly, it has always been a "white fad" in which Indians have been "manipulated" by whites, for whites.

On a cold winter day, December 1st, 1967, the latest revival of the Vanishing Race was proclaimed by *LIFE* magazine — which itself vanished soon after.

"The Return of the Red Man" was heralded on the cover of *LIFE* by the re-emergence of the "Spirits of the Warriors" in a psychedelic warpaint. The warrior who was depicted seemed to be a Mohawk, but it was difficult to tell — he had blue eyes, green and red hair, a yellow and purple nose, and pink ears. In spite of his colorful disguises, however, he was just a modern version of the White Indian.

The reincarnation of the Vanishing Race, this time, appeared in the form of "rock bands" and communes of PhD. dropouts, said *LIFE*. It was a "hippie discovery" for the "Indian Way of Life" had become a "Happy Hippie Hunting Ground" where the white long-hairs of the counter-culture masqueraded in the "ways of braves and squaws". In San Francisco's Haight-Asbury, the young "'white Indian' may sport a feather and a headband" that were believed to provide "good vibrations during an LSD trip", *LIFE* editors informed Middle America, conjuring up fearful images of their sons and daughters who had become howling "red savages" and "barbarians" by forsaking their suburban parents' civilized homes to "go native".

Still worse, the hippies' "Indian ways had infected the non-hippie world", *LIFE* said, as if describing a social disease. The fashion model "Twiggy" had been seen in a new "red Indian dress"; the Paris designer, St. Laurent, was fashioning "fringed belts" for evening wear; the exclusive Norell had created a cocktail gown decorated with a Cherokee alphabet.

These White Indians were appearing in the most unexpected places dressed like cultural transvestites. In *Teen Magazine*, a white girl posed in buckskins: the "POW WOW LOOK" was created. The old-fashioned Christmas catalog of Sears, Roebuck offered sheets, pillowcases, draperies and towels adorned with the designs of San Juan Pueblo pottery, Coushatta basketweaves, Kiowa Horse Parades, Blackfeet arrowheads, Cheyenne horsemen. There were best-selling books, hit movies, and even a Pulitzer Prize for an Indian writer, Scott Momaday. On a morning television show it was announced that "sandpainting had become fashionable" for housewives — "You don't have to be a medicine man to become a sandpainter," said the host. In a sunbather's magazine, the nudist "King and Queen" were crowned with a beaded headband and a war bonnet, their only clothes. And in the Vatican, Pope Paul was photographed wearing a feathered headdress of his own.

Said *Time* magazine: "Indians are becoming fashionable." And as Calvin Trillin wryly noted in *The New Yorker*: "It is almost possible to hear the drums in the East Sixties" of Manhattan. In the *Berkeley Barb*, an oracle of the underground press of the New Left, a White Indian had risen in the centerfold, adorned with a Christ-like halo. In an erotic and obedient manner, his naked mate lounged at his feet, like a little dog. That bit of radical-chic macho had appeared, it is true, before the rise of the women's liberation movement. At that time, though, the "hip tribesmen" seemed to think the male fantasy was quite "spiritual".

And while these "hippies have sort of adopted the Indian as the symbol of their way of life", wrote the Berkeley Barb, their suburban parents had begun to invest in the Indians' culture. "Popularity of Indian Objects Soaring", reported the *New York Times*. On Madison Avenue, at the Sotheby Parke-Bernet galleries, the "first major sale of American Indian art, including Navajo rugs" was announced by Harmer Johnson, the gallery's director of "primitive art", who later said: "We expected the sale would fetch $40,000 to $50,000 — but instead it fetched $170,000." On Fifth Avenue, a silver-and-turquoise necklace and bracelet that may have sold for no more than a few-hundred dollars in a desert trading post, now was advertised for $18,000. In the *Capitalist Reporter* the news was treated as a religious revelation: "Indian Art: Triple Your Money In Two Years", they proclaimed. Even old pots were "investments that rank with good contemporary paintings" and "gold and real estate". And "the end isn't even in sight," said Harmer Johnson.

More than simple stone, the "spirit of our heritage" was being offered the buyers of Indian jewelry. It did not matter that many of these "ancient relics" and "sacred jewels" were not Indian-made, and had, in fact, been manufactured on assembly lines, often by hippie entrepreneurs who had gone west to seek the spiritual way of the Indians, and not finding it, stayed on to cash in on the White Indian fad.

Even the spirit will be packaged and marketed in a commercial society. One store advertised "the priceless spirit" in the jewels at "Bargain Discount Prices". Another offered a "Genuine Indian Pendant" of sacred turquoise to be worn in the navel for "truly sensual" belly-dancing. The White Indians may have bought the spirit in the stones, but in doing so, they were no nearer to whatever they were seeking.

"Someday the jewels on their necks will be so heavy they will choke themselves on our spiritualism," said Alonso Ortiz, a young scholar in anthropology from San Juan Pueblo. "They want to buy spirituality through materialism, because they live in a society of materialism. And that's all they know."

If the whites had known little of the Indians before, they knew little more now. But the fad had grown from fantasy to a fascination that did not seem to rise and fall in that usual pattern of public interest. There was something profoundly disturbing and uneasy in the strange mixture of nostalgia and persistence in the ways that these White Indians pursued a culture they did not and could not

[continued on next page]

comprehend — and had for so long sought to destroy.

"Spread of Indian culture continues to grow — among non-Indians," declared Tyrone Steward, the publisher of *American Indian Crafts and Culture* and *Indian America*, both white magazines. "The beads, bells and feathers become symbols of the surface image and attract the masses," he said, but "dedicated purists [have] come to believe in the Indian way and become entirely engrossed in a pattern of living Indian, [even] to putting their newborn in cradleboards."

"One of the ironic things is that many non-Indians become more 'Indian' than the Indians," Steward adds. "A dear friend of mine said something like this: "I know I can never be an Indian, but sometimes I forget I'm a white man."

And yet the deeper the interest in Indians became and the wider the acclaim for Indian culture, the less and less it seemed to have to do with the Real People. The masquerade of those White Indians was not a farce, so much as it was false.

*

In the City of New York, there is a store where White Indians may buy "red skin" cosmetics.

The Face and Body Makeup comes in a rainbow of shades on an Indian Brown Base. Once the White Indian's skin is ethnic-brown, the unexposed body may be clothed by a Do-It-Yourself Kit for a plastic Ghost Dance Shirt, a Chief's Bonnet of Imitation Eagle Feathers, a Silk Mohawk Wig or a Synthetic Nez Perce Wig, an Indian Princess Dress with Imitation Elk Teeth, and an Aluminum Peace Pipe that doubles as a fake Tomahawk.

"Someone *had to preserve the fascin*ating heritage of the red brothers," says the proprietor of the store.

*** *** ***

"It was generally known that the man who started World War II had by his bedside the thirty (or more) Karl May's collected works [the romantic German writer of Indian tales who had never been to America] and that these books about Indians, trappers, and hunters, which strike any normal boy of fifteen as, at least, ridiculous were his [Hitler's] favorite reading matter," wrote Erich Maria Remarque. "Those were the Fuhrer's favorite books."

*

On the sands of the rainbowed deserts in the valleys of the god-like mountains of northern Arizona, there live a People whom a coal mine executive whose company was strip-mining their sacred lands admiringly called "the last of the Noble Savages". Why? They were just about "the only real Indians left," he said. It was meant to be a compliment, for "all his life" he had searched for the "Noble Savages" — the "real Indians".

In a romantic effort to capture the image of the Noble Savages, before they all vanished, the social scientists, writers, film-makers, lovers of Indians and anthropologists went among them, like missionaries in reverse, with their tape recorders, movie cameras, video systems and sound equipment to pay homage to their "dying culture". It is "our last chance to preserve the culture of primitive man in America," said a spokesman of the American Anthropological Association.

Then there was the producer from a major Hollywood studio who decided to make a "Red Power movie" of a contemporary Noble Savage, but wasn't quite sure whether "Red Power" was Noble, or Savage.

"It isn't like Black Power, is it?" he frowned. The studio wasn't much for Black Power.

So I reassured him: "Red Power isn't Black."

There was just one more problem, he said. In this movie, which would be devoted to preserving, restoring, strengthening, and revering "Indian nobility", the studio wanted their current box-office star to play the Noble Savage. The star, need it be said, was white. . .

And then there were the directors who created their own Noble Savage in modern images. He was named Little Big Man, and the Man Called Horse and Billy Jack.

These reincarnations of the Noble Savage were so imaginative that all the latter-day warriors were white actors. Not merely underneath their painted skins, but within their theatrical minds. By combining the cowboy bravado of Clint Eastwood and Bruce Lee's karate expertese (these movies made karate a "big scene" on the Navajo Reservation), they created a fashionable fantasy world of contemporary Noble Savagery. Sort of a tribal Godfather III. They simply turned the old Western movies upside-down, so that the "Noble" white man became Indians, and the "Savage" Indians were now white men. And these Noble Savages were reborn as murderous liberals . . .

The "Epic of the Battle of Wounded Knee II" as seen in the newspapers and on television, was the quintessence of the self-deception. It brought together all the myths and mythmakers. And the performance of the media in acting out these myths of the Noble Savage was fascinating to see. For it was a true portrayal, not of Lakota People on the Pine Ridge Reservation, but of the White Noble Savages in New York City and in Washington, D.C.

It seemed as "real" as the evening news. The People were playing themselves, and speaking for themselves. Yet their images were seen, as they were heard, through the white eyes of the camera*men and newsmen.*

INDIAN HORRORS
or
MASSACRES BY THE RED MEN
with

STARTLING DESCRIPTIONS OF FANTASTIC GHOST DANCES; MYSTERIOUS MEDICINE MEN; DESPERATE BRAVES; SCALPING OF HELPLESS SETTLERS; BURNING THEIR HOMES, ETC. ETC.

THRILLING SCENES
AMONG
THE INDIANS

When there was nothing more dramatic to be seen than the beauty of the wind on the prairies, the "White Indians" posed the People as Buffalo Bill ever did. They were creative.

Grace Black Elk simply said: "They lied."

She had been at Wounded Knee. In many of the firefights then, and before, she was a Lakota leader and she spoke bitterly: "Our young men sometimes had no bullets in their guns. Some of them were too hot-headed. Some of them would say, "I'm going to get me a white-eyes today.' And so we had to calm them, cool them down. And so we had no bullets in our guns until we were shot at. Then we loaded.

"They did not say these things on television. Ever! One day in the television news, they said the medicine men had put war paint on the foreheads of our young men. I don't remember which said that, CBS or NBC. They lied. It was ashes from a sacred ceremony that blessed these young men and protected them from being killed. And so, when I saw the television people, I asked them: 'Why did you say that? You know it was ashes!' .

"Well, they apologized. So I told them: if you admit you were mistaken, say so. If you don't, then the next time I see a priest put holy ashes on the forehead of someone for Ash Wednesday, I'm going to say on television the whites are putting on war paint."

After the stage lights were dimmed, the *camera lenses had been covered*, and the newsmen had put away their pads, a curious thing happened. The mythmakers of the media began accusing the Lakota of using them. It was all "bad theatre", with "outmoded makeup — war paint — and melodramatic lines aimed at the TV cameras," said *Time.* It was "a media *coup d'etat"* said *The Nation,* a "group theatre" performance. It was a "staged" spectacular by "media Indians" said *TV Guide.* The wily Lakota had manipulated the innocents from New York and Hollywood.

On the prairie, the life of the Lakota was poor and hard. In no ways did they resemble the Noble Savage of the media — those images were not of their creation. It was what the white eyes of the cameras had seen, and what the white eyes of the television viewers had wished to see. If the accusations of the media were true, why had it so lavishly indulged in the "bad theatre"? Why had it been manipulated so willingly? And if the would-be White Indians of the media had fantasized these struggles of the Lakota for survival and revival, perhaps they glorified Wounded Knee II not because of the needs of the Lakota, but because they themselves wished to be the would-be Noble Savages.

"So many of these people try to romanticize the Indian by making him too savage, or too noble," said Delbert McBride, the curator of the Capitol Museum in the State of Washington. "The image they project is the image of themselves. It is not how they wish to see the 'Indian', but how they wish to see themselves."

And "then our people have to make the white myths into realities, by becoming living myths," said a Pawnee-Oto woman in New York City, Mrs. Mifanway Shonatona Hines, who had been a consultant to the news and television media for almost a generation as the director of the American Indian Information Center. She laughed with some anger: "It is so difficult for these media people to see beyond the only thing that they have in their mind — themselves! And so they turn [our People] into white myths."

In the anthology of the descendants of the European settlers, there was nothing nobler than the "real Indian". If, that is, he did not continue to exist.

In the beginning, there had been no Noble Savages to the Europeans. The Peoples of America were no more than the "beasts" and less than humans. As Governor William Bradford of the Massachusetts Bay Colony said, they were "savage and brutish men, which range up and down little otherwise than wild beasts" so that the land could be said to be "unpeopled".

On the beleaguered deck of the Mayflower, after an ordeal of sixty-six days at sea, the Pilgrims had not rejoiced on seeing the shore of America. They had trembled in fear. For "what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wilde beasts and wilde men," wrote the ship chronicler Nathaniel Morton. The country had a "wilde and savage hew", with "uncivile and Devilish" woods that were nothing less than "Satanic". So the Puritan poet, Michael Wigglesworth, was to describe one spring day in New England in 1662:

A waste and howling
wilderness,
Where none inhabited
But hellish fiends
and brutish men
That Devils worshipped.

Still, it was the Earth's only Paradise", Michael Drayton had written in *To the Virginian Voyage* of 1605. And the People were innocent as the "children of Paradise" in the Garden of Eden before The Fall. They had a "savage goodness", as Roy Harvey Pearce was to write in his history of Puritanism, *Savagism and Civilization.* So the Europeans were of "two minds" toward the Americans.

"The Puritan's understanding of the Indian", Pearce said, "marked his understanding of himself. .,. Whatever he saw outside, he had somehow already seen inside. So that the conflict between savagery and nobility that the European saw in the Noble Savage might have been merely a projection of his own conflicts between God and the Devil, good and evil, Heaven and Hell, and European laws and American license. For it was not a philosophical conflict native to the native Americans.

And yet, it was in America only that the Noble Savage was God and the Devil to white Europeans. He had brothers in Africa and Asia. He walked the world in the shadow of the European colonizers,

Recently, Apache youths from White Mountain and San Carlos were brought to "Squaw Valley" to perform a "snow dance" so that tourists would be able to ski. Unfortunately, the Creation did not respond positively.

The Lakota protest was at first seen as "A Tiny Camp of Indians With Few Weapons" (on March 5th in *The New York Times*) but it soon became "A SUSPENSEFUL SHOW OF RED POWER" (on March 19th in *Time Magazine.* Not merely the images of the media, but the policies of the Government, were the victims of the old "White Indian" myths as the inflammatory headlines increased:

FEDERAL FORCE RINGS VILLAGE
ARMED INDIANS OCCUPY CHURCH
BURN TRADING POST
HOLD WHITE HOSTAGES
WAR DANCES OF AIM WARRIORS

It sounded like an echo of the penny dreadfuls and the scholarly volumes of the "merciless Savages" of the Nineteenth Century, books that delighted in "blood-lusting" accounts of murder and bestiality, such as Reverend Henry Davenport Northrup's tale of terror, published in 1891:

his creators. Nowhere, however, was he accorded the importance and stature he had on this continent.

That may well have been because nowhere else did the European seek to become a native of the land. In Africa and Asia, he learned the ways of the people to conquer them, but he rarely became African or Asian. But, in America, he wished to become American. He remade himself in his image of the People he conquered, the image of the Noble Savage.

Scholars of the rationalist era enobled the ideas of the Noble Savage with their own version of scientific empiricism. On the one hand, said the Seventeenth Century master of German science, William Liebniz, these "barbarians surpass us, especially in bodily vigor, even so far as the soul is concerned." That may be because, Liebniz explained, "animals are purely empirical" and thus their "practical morality is better than ours." But on the other hand, "One would have to be as brutish as the American savages to approve of their customs, which are crueler than those of wild animals." Yet it was this very savagery that made them noble, he said.

In the memory of later Germanic beliefs about the Noble Savage, this somewhat schizophrenic view has a rather ominous echo. The fascination with the Noble Savage, the so-called "beast within" and the seeking for "pure" Indians (Aryans) that Europeans were to import from their American cousins was to cause as much misery upon that continent as on ours.

Still, the quest goes on. It is so persistent that something more than a romantic image seems to be sought, for if it were no more than that, the nightmare of the "Indian Wars" would have ended these whites' dreams of the Noble Savage and "pure" Indian (Aryan).

The German philosopher of the *Decline of the West* Oswald Spengler, thought it was a revolt against "this loathing of the senses, of reason; this fear of beauty and happiness" that was necessary in a technological society. "Every 'real' man, even in cities of late periods of culture, feels within himself, from time to time, the sleeping fires of the primitive soul," he wrote in *Man And Technics*. When a civilization declined, it was inevitable, Spengler said, that people begin to seek their roots.

But the "search for the primitive" was more troublesome to Sigmund Freud. He thought of it as a "retrogression". Still, he too had begun to doubt the artificiality of modern living. "People who know nothing about nature are of course neurotic," Freud said, "for they are not adapted to reality. They are too naive, like children." A strange comment for a wholly-urban intellectual.

The failure of the myth was perhaps told best in D.H. Lawrence's *Study of Classic American Literature*, when he lamented:

"There are these people, these 'savages'. One does not despise them. One does not feel superior. But there is a gulf. There is a gulf in time and being. I cannot commingle my being with theirs. . .

"And they will call you brother, choose you as a brother. But why cannot one truly be [a] brother?

"There is an invisible hand grasps my heart and prevents it opening too much to these strangers. They are beautiful, they are like children, they are generous, but they are more than this. They are far off, and in their eyes is an easy darkness of the soft uncreate past. In a way, they are uncreate. Far be it from me to assume any 'white' superiority. But they are savages . . . And your own soul will tell you that however false and foul our forms and systems are now, still, through the centuries since Egypt, we have been living and struggling forwards, along some road that is no road, any yet is a great life development. We have struggled on, and on we must still go. We may have to smash things. Then let us smash. . .

"So these many 'reformers' and 'idealists' who glorify the savages in America . . . They are death-birds, life-haters. Renegades. . .

"We can't go back."

TIDBITS

An American Indian Movement Spiritual Convention is being held in Sudbury, Ontario, on April 2-3. For further information, contact: Art Solomon, 2268 Maley Drive, Garson, Ontario.

Under continued pressure from the hunting lobby, Alaska's Board of Game has decided upon a program to kill wolves – the wolves don't have much of a chance since many of them have already been live-trapped and released with radio collars to facilitate location of the packs. Those wishing to oppose the program can write Governor Jay Hammond, Juneau, Alaska 99801, recommending a year-long (or more) moratorium on wolf kills pending further studies of the situation.

A journal for teachers and librarians and parents interested in non-racist non-sexist reading material for their children might be interested in checking out the bulletin of the Council on Interracial Books for Children, Inc. Write them for a sample copy, enclosing some change or stamps to cover cost. Write: Council on Interracial Books, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023 or telephone (212) 757-5339.

In Philadelphia, as in other cities, a Native American Support Committee is being organized to support self-determination for native peoples. Publicity to break the news stoppages, education to develop people's understanding, and campaigns to aid native demands are planned. For further information, contact: NASC, 137 S. 8 St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19106 or telephone (215) 923-6763.

Trent University is sponsoring a benefit pow-wow for April 3-4 at the Otonabee College. Proceeds will go to native victims of mercury poisoning. The powwow is a return to earlier tradition: there will be no admission, and no prizes and no alcohol or drugs. Drummers, dancers, and entertainers will receive meals and accommodations. Contact: Carol Peters, Box 557, Otonabee College, Peterborough, Ontario, or telephone (705) 745-8391.

The Festival of American Folklife of the Smithsonian Institution has a special Bicentennial program this year. Twelve different areas of the land ranging from the Arctic to the Southeast are represented in four-day sessions beginning June 16 and ending September 6. For further information, contact: Division of Performing Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Macalester College's Native American Coalition is recruiting students for its liberal arts program. It has an Expanded Educational Opportunities Program to provide financial aid, tutoring, academic and social counseling and seven scholarships are offered each year. For further information, contact: Ronald McKinley, Coordinator, Native American Coalition, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105, or call (612) 647-6544.

The Mission Indian Centre is sponsoring the annual Fraser Valley International Indian War Dance Festival this year on July 16-18. Persons interested in participating are invited to write Karen Paisley, POBox 3145, Mission, B.C. V2V 4J3, or telephone 826-1281. The group is also having an arts and crafts exhibition in Mission May 8 and 9 to raise funds.

The Institute for the Development of Indian Law is seeking an attorney to do litigation and research into matters involving Indian sovereignty and treaties. An Indian attorney is preferred. Pay is good and work is hard. Inquiries and resume should be sent to: Tim Coulter, Institute for the Development of Indian Law, Suite 200, 927 15th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 or telephone (202) 638-2287.

A university minority program director for EOP involving 100 native students is needed by the University of Colorado. Contact: Willard Administrative Center 67, Personnel Services, U of C, Boulder, Colorado 80309.

Native students with at least one year of college and interested in a health career are invited to attend an intensive academic summer program in beautiful northern Michigan. Fellowships will be available for twenty students, including all costs, and four hours university credit will be given. The deadline is near, so contact soon: American Indian Institute, 106 Constitution Avenue, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma 73069 or call (405) 325-5408. Native American pre-med students are invited to apply for well-paying counselor positions as well.

Information about the Indians of New Jersey is available from New Jersey Indian Office, 300 Main Street 2C3, Orange, New Jersey 07050.

A drama, Strike At The Wind, will be performed every Thursday, Friday and Saturday evening from July 1 through August 14 by the Robeson Historical Drama Association. The script features the 1860s armed resistance of Henry Berry Lowrie against the loss of native lands by profiteers among the local Home Guard. The drama has a tri-racial cast. For further information, contact: Robeston Historical Drama Assn., POBox 1059, Pembroke, North Carolina 28372 or telephone (919) 521-2401.

The Hawaii Council of American Indian Nations needs an alcoholism counselor with a deadline of April 1 for applications. Contact: HCAIN, 1414 Colburn St. †202, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817 or telephone (808) 848-1065.

"American Indian – Is Civil Rights a Must?" is the theme of a conference to be held in the Phoenix Indian Center on April 10 starting at 9 a.m. For further information, contact PIC, 4025 North Second St., Phoenix, Arizona.

A "Native American Administrator's Program" is seeking candidates who wish to prepare for administrative and policy-making positions in tribal organizations, such as administrators of Indian community colleges, principals of schools, etc. A master's degree and a doctoral degree are offered, in which the "foreign language requirement" may be satisfied by a native American language. For information, contact: Dr. Gerald E. Gipp, Director, Native American Program, Pennsylvania State University, 403 Rackley Building, University Park, Pa. 16802 or telephone (814) 865-1487.

University of Nebraska will be the scene of the sixth annual "Native American Days" March 31 through April 4. For further information, contact Coalition of Indian Students, Room 200, Union, UNL, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508.

A series of lectures and discussions aimed at emphasizing the current review of U.S. Indian Policy will take place April 29-30. For information, contact: Billy Joe Davis, Director, Symposium on the American Indian, Division of Social Sciences, Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464.

Director of Indian Career Services is needed starting June 1 to coordinate, develop, teach, manage, counsel. April 20 is the application deadline. Contact: Dr. Lowell A. Dunlop, Dean of Students, 1500 North 30 St. Eastern Montana College, Billings, Montana 59101.

A variety of types of alcoholism programs, including a Comprehensive Care Center at Clam Lake Field Station has been designed for operation in an Indian community environment, although limited funding now prevents it from being fully utilized. Further information about the program is available from Lorena L. Webster, Wisconsin Indian Task Force, Clam Lake, Wisconsin 54517.

A Ph.D. Assistant Professor in American Indians, kinship, psychological anthropology, and religion for a large general introductory course as well as graduate seminars is wanted. Contact: Dr. Michael B. Whiteford, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011 or telephone (515) 294-6480.

The Oklahoma City Indian Youth Council, sponsored by the Native American Center, is interested in correspondence from other youth groups. Contact: Sharon Coachman, Youth Council, NAC, 1214 North Hudson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73103.

A specialist in Indian education is wanted immediately to work in the ERIC system of computerized information. For further information, contact Dr. Everett Edington, Box 3AP ERIC/CRESS New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico 88003 or telephone (505) 546-2623.

Minority journalists wanting a new intensive summer program leading to newspaper employment are wanted to apply for a program in Berkeley's School of Journalism. Those eligible are persons who desire newspaper careers, but who have little or no journalism experience. For information, contact Summer Program for Minority Journalists, School of Journalism, 607 Evans Hall, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

A photo workshop for native people is in progress in Phoenix, combining study, work, and expression. Participants are eager to share and exchange information with others to enlarge their "seeing capacities". Further information on the project can be obtained by writing: Pete Jordan, Director, Native American Photo Workshop, 37 E. Indian School Road, Phoenix, Arizona 85012.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Voices From Wounded Knee 1973

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Many colleges are now using it as a text. 282 large-sized pages, $4.95.

⇩NEW!⇩

BEST OF AKWESASNE NOTES SERIES

[AKWESASNE NOTES has produced almost 50 issues – 2400 pages of articles, essays, and information about native and natural peoples. Only a few of the issues remain in print. So that information of continuing value remains available for study and discussion, this series reprints some of the outstanding articles which have appeared in this newspaper.]

1. How Democracy Came to St. Regis & The Thunderwater Movement

Two historical articles by Rarihokwats, using data from Indian Affairs archives to detail how the bureaucracy deliberately thwarts and destroys native movements trying to help their people. 24 pages. 75 cents.

2. Americanism Is The Answer

Two articles by Jack Forbes on the disease from Europe – Machiavellianism – and the alternative presented by natural world people in the Americas. A companion piece analyzing the effect of discovery of natural peoples upon European philosophy and life by Dr. Gertrude Hafner completes the pamphlet. 75 cents.

LAST CHANCE TO GET CALENDARS.....

1976 Calendar

After three printings, we ran out of calendars – and then had another batch printed up to avoid disappointing those who really wanted a copy. The theme of the calendar is the sovereignty of our native nations – meaning how to be a human being on this earth, sort of our answer to the U.S. Bicentennial celebration.

Each month has its own handsome poster-size drawings by Kahonhes, Clayton Brascoupe, and Carl Winters. Important events affecting native Americans are recorded on the days on which they occurred throughout history. The calendar is large, 17 x 22 inches, and each page is a separate work of art, suitable for framing long after 1976 has passed.

So, even though it is spring and months have passed, if you don't have a calendar, you may still wish to order one. $3 postpaid, in a cardboard mailing tube.

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type, illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Beautifully designed, illustrated, and written by the poet – a colorful presentation. 88 pages, $2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Any More

The story of the Trail of Broken Treaties group which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1972. That story is now history – but the book also contains the Twenty Points position paper presented to the White House which would revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships. Each of the Twenty Points includes the Caravan's position, the reply from the Nixon White House, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard into the next decade, and needs to be understood – and acted upon – by every United States citizen and every native person. 8½ x 11, 96 pages, paperback, $1.95.

BUTTONS

200 Years of Resistance Button

An eye-catching 2" pin of the above design, as an answer to the Bicentennial celebrations. 75 cents each, postpaid. Groups wishing to sell the pins as fund-raisers can obtain 100 for $37.50 – but payment must be included with the order.

Indigena Pamphlet Series

[INDIGENA is an organization devoted to the causes of the native peoples of the Americas. As an information center, it works cooperatively with AKWESASNE NOTES in this series of pamphlets, as well as having its own publications available Write: INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704.]

The Situation of Indian Peoples in Guatemala

A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by foreign interests, and people of their own heritage who have taken another path. 25 cents.

The Rights of Indigenous Women in Colombia

A strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s. Like the others in this series, this pamphlet is illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto. 25 cents.

Tiahuanaco Manifesto

Proclaimed by the native people of Bolivia. Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Aymara cultures today, of their view of the Spanish Conquest, and of the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken. 25 cents.

The Indian Situation in Brazil Today

An outline of the genocidal war being waged against the native people of the Amazon. The destruction of communities is documented. 25 cents.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

[The Six Nations Museum is at Onchiota, New York, where from Memorial Day until Labor Day each year, thousands of persons get a better understanding of the Iroquois heritage and way of life. The museum is owned by Tehanetorens, also known as Ray Fadden, Mohawk Wolf Clan. Most of the pamphlets in this series were issued by the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, and have been redesigned and reprinted by AKWESASNE NOTES.]

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old – and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound, illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00.

The Migration of the Iroquois

Pictographic writing and text in English, with handsome drawings of Iroquois life by Kahonhes, detailing a chapter of North American history – how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. Newly reprinted, 75 cents.

Wampum Belts

Photographs of reproductions of the Iroquois wampum belts, with a text explaining the meanings read in each. An interesting way to learn native history. $1.50.

Costume of the Iroquois

This illustrated book describes in detail how to make the clothing which is traditional with the Iroquois People. $1.25.

⇩NEW!⇩

Conservation

A short booklet explaining what happened to the Natural World here in North America from the native viewpoint – and what needs to happen now. Pictographic writing and text. For children and schools, 15 cents.

Deskaheh

A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada, and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 75 cents.

STAMPS

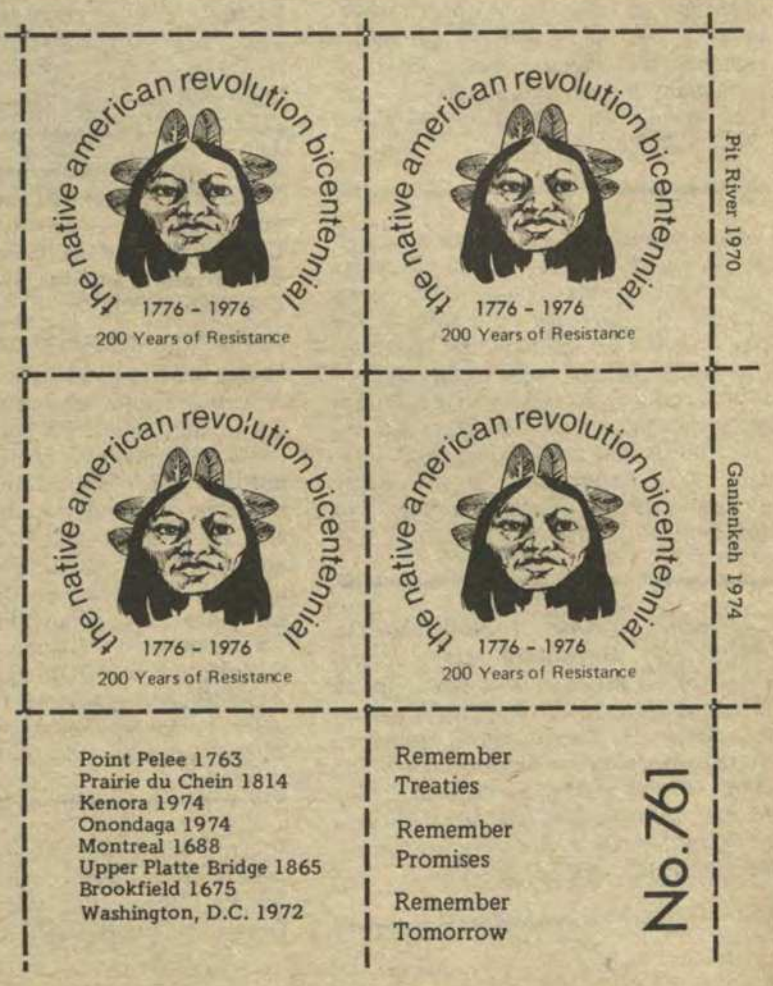
200 Years of Resistance Stamps

A sheet of 24 stamps, printed in two colors, for $1.00 as a means of raising money for AKWESASNE NOTES at the same time you raise consciousness about native people and the Bicentennial. The stamps are on paper that sticks when moistened for use on letters and in public places as mini-reminders. The sheet is perforated. Groups wishing to sell the stamps as fund-raisers can obtain 100 sheets for $50 with payment made in advance.

When you make your order, please add a small amount to cover the costs of postage & shipping . . .

and if you'll add another dollar or two to buy a book for a prisoner, we'll match it with the same –

Thanks for helping.



RECORDS

Now that the SWAT Squad Theme Song is on the Top 40, having our own music drumming in our spirit's ears is more important than ever. This is a fairly complete listing of Indian House Albums, and a more complete Canyon list will be in another issue. Indian House albums, our "Willie Dunn" album, and David Campbell's "Through Arawak Eyes" are available for resale in record stores, bookstores, or for fund-raising projects by native groups. There is a 40% discount on orders of $100 or more. We suggest a special packet of 28 assorted albums for $100 as a beginning sampler to discover popular titles for re-order. Exchanges of unsold albums are permitted.

THESE ALBUMS ARE AVAILABLE AS LP-RECORDS, CASSETTES, OR CARTRIDGES. All are $6 unless otherwise noted. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Indian House

NAVAJO CORN GRINDING & SHOE GAME SONGS: 7 corn grinding songs and 13 shoe game songs sung by Boniface Bonnie, Ted B. Bonnie, Mike D. Johnson, Chester Roan, Autsidy Smith, Rose M. Bonnie, Winnie Bonnie, Marie E. Brown and Bertha Johnson. Recorded at Klagetoh, Arizona.

KLAGETOH MAIDEN SINGERS: 4 Navajo spin dance songs, 5 walking dance songs, 5 round dance songs, and 10 two-step songs sung by Joycetta Bonnie, Rose M. Bonnie, Winnie Bonnie, Marie E. Brown, and Bertha Johnson.

WAR DANCE SONGS OF THE PONCA – VOL. 1: 18 songs of the Ponca Hethoshka sung by Lamont Brown, Harry Buffalohead, Joe H. & Russell Rush, Sylvester Warrior, Albert Waters, Louis Yellow Horse, Alice Cook, Lucy C.F. Ribs, and Stella Yellow Horse. Camp Crier is James Waters.

WAR DANCE SONGS OF THE PONCA – VOL. II: 22 songs, including trot songs and charging (contest) songs.

SONGS OF THE MUSKOGEE CREEK – PART I: Buffalo Dance, Long Dance, and 5 Stomp Dances sung by Harry Bell, James Deere, Netche Gray, Frank Jackson, Tema Tiger and David Wind. Shell shakers are Frances & Stella Deere, Helen Tiger and Eliza Wind.

SONGS OF THE MUSKOGEE CREEK – PART II: 3 Stomp Dances, Friendship Dance, Gar Dance, Guinee Dance and Morning Dance.

BLACKFOOT A-1 CLUB SINGERS – Theme Songs, 4 war dance songs, and 2 chicken dance songs by Andy Axe, Dennis Black Rider, Nick Breaker, Ralph Crow Chief, Raymond Crow Chief, Philip Little Chief, Gerald Sitting Eagle, and Marcel Weasel Head. Recorded at Gleichen, Alberta.

BLACKFOOT A-1 CLUB SINGERS – VOL. II: 2 war dance songs, 1 competition song, 3 chicken dance songs, and 6 owl dance songs.

OLD AGENCY SINGERS OF THE BLOOD RESERVE: 5 grass dance songs and 3 chicken dance songs by Jim Chief Calf, John Chief Calf, Dominic Cross Child, Jarvie Day Chief, Dean Plume, Dan Weasel Moccasin Jr. and Sr., Stewart Weasel Moccasin. Recorded at Stand Off, Alberta.

OLD AGENCY SINGERS OF THE BLOOD RESERVE – VOL. II: 2 grass dance songs, 2 chicken dance songs, and 4 owl dance songs.

KIOWA GOURD DANCE, VOL I: 12 Kiowa gourd dance songs sung by Daniel Cozad, Joe Cozad, Larry Cozad, Leonard Cozad Sr., Billy Hunting Horse, Adam Kaulaity, Vincent Spotted Bird, Yale Spotted Bird, Velma Cozad, Barbara Ahhaitty, Monoessy, Dobbin Monoessy, and Naomi Svitak. Dancers are David Apekaum, Marty Autaubo, Richard Kauahquo, Elrod Monoessy and Curtis Tointigh. Recorded at Carnegie, Oklahoma. Notes on album jacket.

KIOWA GOURD DANCE, VOL. II: 11 Kiowa gourd dance songs continued from volume one.

CHEYENNE PEYOTE SONGS VOL I: 25 peyote songs sung by Arthur Madbull, Lee R. Chouteau, Toby Starr, and Allen Bushyhead. Recorded at Calumet, Oklahoma. Notes on album jacket.

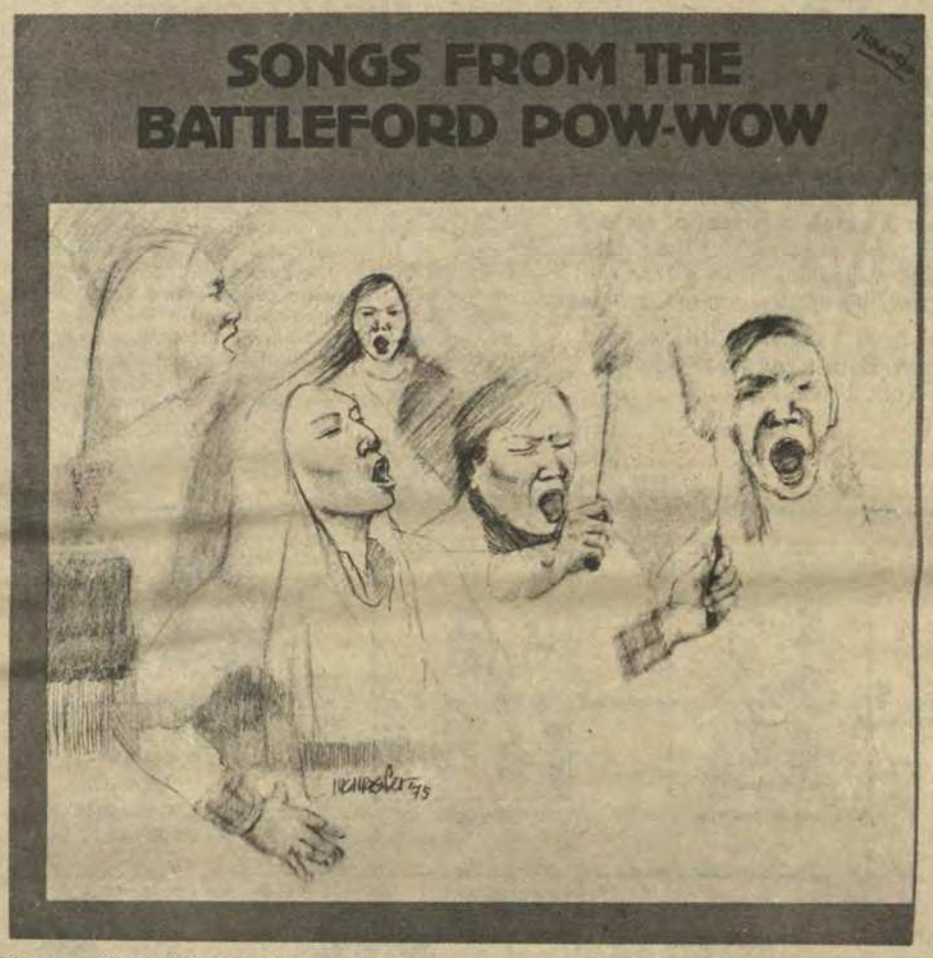
CHEYENNE PEYOTE SONGS VOL. II: 24 peyote songs continued from volume one.

SOUNDS OF THE BADLAND SINGERS: 10 grass dance songs sung by Roy A. Azure III, Mathew Big Fork, Russell Denny, Gary Drum, Ben Gray Hawk, Gerald R. Lambert, Adrian Spotted Bird, and Leland Spotted Bird.

ASHLAND SINGERS / NORTHERN CHEYENNE WAR DANCE: 10 war dance songs sung by Daniel Foote, LaForce Lone Bear, Henry Sioux, Corlett Teeth, Harvey White Man, Oran C. Wolf Black, and Wesley Wolf Black. Recorded at Lame Deer, Montana. Introductory notes on jacket.

TAOS PUEBLO ROUND DANCE: 13 songs sung by Jimmy Cordova, Orlando Lujan, Ernest Martinez, and Ruben Romero. Recorded at Taos Pueblo.

BADLANDS SINGERS / ASSINIBOINE-SIOUX GRASS DANCE: 10 grass dance songs sung by Lyle E. Denny, Rusty Denny, Gary Drum, Ben G. Hawk, Gerald Lambert, Gary Red Eagle, Adrian C. Spotted Bird Sr., Leland Spotted Bird. Recorded at Poplar, Montana. Notes on album jacket.



PONCA PEYOTE SONGS – VOL. I: 28 songs by Harry Buffalohead, James Clark, Joe H. Rush, Franklin Smith & Sylvester Warrior.

PONCA PEYOTE SONGS – VOL. II: 24 songs.

PONCA PEYOTE SONGS – VOL. III: 24 more songs.

PUEBLO SONGS OF THE SOUTHWEST: Recorded live at the Gallup Ceremonial. Hopi Basket Dance, Hopi Butterfly Dance, Jemez Buffalo Dance, San Juan Basket Dance, Zuni Rainbow Dance, Laguna Arrow Dance, Laguna Eagle Dance, and Laguna Buffalo Dance.

ROUND DANCE SONGS OF TAOS PUEBLO – VOL. I: 16 songs by John C. Gomez, Orlando & Ralph Lujan, Benny Mondragon, Ruben Romero, and Louis Sandoval.

ROUND DANCE SONGS OF TAOS PUEBLO – VOL. II: 15 more beautiful songs.

TAOS ROUND DANCE – PART I: 16 songs by Steven Archuleta, Andy Lujan, Frederick Lujan, Jr., Hubert Lujan, Joseph Luis Mirabel, John C. Romero and Manuel Sandy.

TAOS ROUND DANCE – PART II: 16 more songs.

DITCH-CLEANING & PICNIC SONGS OF PICURIS PUEBLO: Individually sung by Ramos Duran. Music for working & eating.

TURTLE DANCE SONGS OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO: 4 strong songs by Joe Abeyta, Cipriano Garcia, Jerry & Peter Garcia, Carpio & John R. Trujillo.

CLOUD DANCE SONGS OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO: 6 cloud dance songs.

ZUNI FAIR – LIVE: Harvest dances by Tekapo Village, Navajo Songs & Legend Song by Zuni Olla Maidens, Hopi Butterfly Dance and Zuni Butterfly Dance by Pescado Village.

NAVAJO SWAY SONGS: 42 songs from the Enemy Way Ceremony sung by Boniface Bonnie, Autisdy Smith, Ben J. Johnson, Donald Deal, Stella & Winnie Bonnie and Donald Deal.

NIGHT & DAYLIGHT YEIBICHEI: sung by Boniface Bonnie, Autisdy Smith, M.D. Johnson, Roy Bonnie, Ben Johnson, Benny Roan Horse, Ted Bonnie and Donald Deal.

NAVAJO SKIP DANCE & TWO STEP SONGS sung by Boniface Bonnie.

NAVAJO ROUND DANCE: 50 songs by Boniface Bonnie.

NAVAJO GIFT SONGS & ROUND DANCE: 21 gift songs and 29 round dances from the Enemy Way Ceremony sung by Boniface Bonnie and others.

COMANCHE PEYOTE SONGS – VOL. I: 24 morning songs by Roy Simmons, Joy Niedo, Roy Mockmetooah, Roe Kahrahrah, Mary Poafpybitty, Jessie Poahway, and Ida Wockmetooah.

COMANCHE PEYOTE SONGS – VOL. II: 23 more morning songs.

HANDGAME OF THE KIOWA, KIOWA APACHE, & COMANCHE: Carnegie Roadrunners vs. Billy Goat Hill. 23 songs during an actual game with more than 60 singers.

KIOWA 49 WAR EXPEDITION SONGS: 17 Kiowa 49er songs sung by *Gregory Haumpy, Billy Hunting Horse, Ralph Kotay, Bill Koomsa, Jr.*, Barbara Ahhaitty, Pearl Kerchee, Angeline&Wilde&Nan Koomsa.

HOHWOSJU LAKOTA SINGERS / TRADITIONAL SONGS OF THE SIOUX: Sioux National Anthem, Veteran's Honor Song, 3 grass dance songs, 2 flag dance songs, and 2 rabbit dance songs. Sung by Franklin Bear Running, Romanus Bear Stops, Berdell Blue Arm, Steve Charging Eagle, Kenneth Young Bear, Zona Bear Stops, Lorraine Charging Eagle, and Darlene Young Bear. Recorded at Red Scaffold, South Dakota.

SOUNDS OF INDIAN AMERICA – Plains and Southwest recorded at the Gallup Ceremonial. Hopi Buffalo Dance, Jemez Eagle Dance, Ute Bear Dance, San Juan Butterfly Dance, Zuni Rain Song, Navajo Feather Dance, Zuni Doll Dance, Quechan Night Hawk Dance, Crow Sun Dance, San Carlos Apache Crown Dance, Laguna Turkey Dance, and Kiowa Attack Dance. Seven pages of full color photographs of the dance groups with the album.

Canyon Records

NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH RELIGIOUS SONGS: 33 selections, some in English, by Alfred Armstrong (Ute), Winston and Wayne Turtle (Southern Cheyenne).

TRADITIONAL NAVAJO SONGS: Pole Dance, I Didn't Care, Circle Dance, Navajo Love Song, Competition Song, Natay's Hoop Dance, I'll Take You Back to Arizona, Gift Dance, Two-Step, Shoes Game, Let's Get Together, Goodnight Song, sung by Reg Begay, Mesa Verde Park Singers, Natay, Roger McCabe. Joe Lee of Lukachuchai with group.

NAVAJO WOMEN'S DANCE SONGS: Sung by the Navajo Centennial Dance Team.

YEI-BE-CHAI CHANTS: The night chant for healing.

NAVAJO SOCIAL SONGS: Women's dance songs sung by Robert E. Lee.

PEYOTE: From the sacred rites of the Native American Church. Includes songs by David Apekaun, Kiowa; Morris Medicine, Cheyenne; Chief White Eagle, Cherokee; Chief Spotted Back Hamilton, Omaha; Johnny Buffalo, Bannock; Wilbur Jack, Paiute-Wasco.

CHANTS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA: A collection of songs, by four anonymous singers.

CHANTS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA – VOL. II: Sung by Alfred Armstrong (Ute) and Ralph Turtle (Southern Cheyenne).

PEYOTE HEALING CHANTS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH: 23 healing chants as sung by Ralph Turtle. Cover is a full-color peyote painting by Al Momaday.

CHANTS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA – VOL. III: From the far West by Wilbur Jack (Paiute-Wasco). A group of morning songs, and five groups of occasional songs.

BRIGHT MORNING STAR SONGS: Native American Church songs by Ralph Turtle and Daniel Magpie, Southern Cheyennes.

YAQUI RITUAL & FESTIVAL MUSIC – Matachini, Deer, and Pascola Dances and Yaqui folk songs with English translation.

GOURD DANCE OF THE KIOWA sung by Bill Koomsa's group of Carnegie, Oklahoma.

SONGS OF THE CADDO: VOL. I – Turkey Dance.

SONGS OF THE CADDO: VOL. 2 – Final Turkey Dance songs, Caddo Flag Song; Bear, Duck, Fish and Morning Dance Songs.

CACHE CREEK SINGERS: VOL I: War Journey Songs.

CACHE CREEK SINGERS: VOL 2: Sixteen round dance and 49er dance songs in English.

OKLAHOMA GOURD DANCE SONGS: Cache Creek singers.

COMANCHE PEYOTE: VOL I – Comanche singers.

COMANCHE PEYOTE: VOL. 2 – Comanche singers.

POWWOW: recorded during war dance competition. Contest songs featuring John Knifechief recorded at All Indian Days in Scottsdale.

CROW CELEBRATION: Live at the 1971 fair. Includes ten visiting tribal groups: Kiowa, Assiniboine, Arapaho, Cree, Cheyenne, Blood, Crow, Yakima, Mandaree, Mesquakie. Features war dances, contest, and gourd songs. Colorful jacket.

CREE POW WOW SONGS: Eleven songs from Rocky Boy's Reservation by the Parker Singers: Videl Stump Standing Rock, Russell &Douglas&Kenneth&Joe Standing Rock, Kenny Writing Bird, Irvin Denny.

SOCIAL SONGS OF THE ARAPAHO SUN DANCE: Eight songs by Wind River Singers: Felix Groesbeck, Duane, Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris.

ARAPAHO WAR DANCE SONGS & ROUND DANCES: Four war dance songs and four round dances by the Wind River Singers.

KIOWA 49 & ROUND DANCE SONGS: Social dances – seven 49er songs and five round dance songs by Mr. & Mrs. John Emhoolah, Jr., Hershel Kaulaity, Mr. & Mrs. Billy Botone, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Bointy, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Haumpy, T. Creeping Bear, Ray White Buffalo.

SONGS FROM LAGUNA: eight dance songs by Lynn Sheayea, Allen Martin, Edward Aragon, Victor & Albert Riley.

MESQUAKIE BEAR SINGERS WITH WAR DANCE SONGS: Traditional Plains music in the Bear Singers distinctive style.

WILLIE DUNN

This stereo album of toe-tapping music is both good music and political education. Lyrics are printed on the album cover. Jerry Saddleback sings a Grass Dance Song and a Chief's Song, to accompany Willie Dunn's own lyrics, music, guitar and singing. *WIN Magazine* describes this album, produced by AKWESASNE NOTES, as "amazingly varied. Willie Dunn will remind you of a Gordon Lightfoot or even a Tom Rush, but then [the Cree songs] will really turn your head around."

The album is just $5 postpaid – available on cassette and cartridge, too.

THROUGH ARAWAK EYES: a stereo, long-playing album of ballads by David Campbell, Arawak folksinger from Guyana. Contains 13 songs, highly recommended listening. The album is $5 in cassette, cartridge, or LP. A song book with notation for guitar and lyrics is $2.50.

FLOYD WESTERMAN'S CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS: Good music with a strong consciousness-raising message. Lyrics are based on the book of the same title by Vine Deloria, Jr. $6.00

RESOURCES

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

Mohawk basketmakers keep turning out fine baskets of many sizes and shapes, using black ash splint and sweetgrass, local materials. Basketmaking is one of many old and useful traditions among the native people that has survived into today, and may help us to survive into tomorrow. Some of the designs go into the distant past: the pack-basket, corn-washing basket, storage baskets. Others are more fancy: sewing baskets, kettle baskets, pin-cushions, strawberry basket. They range in size from the tiny thimble basket to the 24"-high pack-basket.

There is also beadwork: nice earrings, necklaces, hair-ties, chockers and others. Leatherwork is limited, but there are some headbands, bracelets, and belts.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. While we can fill some individual orders, we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising. For a church bazaar, pow-wow, trading post, coffee party, order a 30-day consignment. It will have retail price tags totalling about $133, and you will be billed for $100. Before the end of 30 days, you can return any unsold items, or pay for those sold. Paid-for unsold items can be returned for full credit or refund at any time.

INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK – blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos – is available from us. It is mixed, packed, and shipped from the Mohawk Nation. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are $1.15 each, or 3 for $3.15, postage-paid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼ or ½-pound pouch.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos – just barks, roots, leaves, herbs.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the 6 blends for $25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted any time.

Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00
90 minutes – $11.00

GANIENKEH, 1975: Fourteen months after the establishment of a Mohawk camp in the traditional homeland, the settlement is there and prospering, prepared to stay for generations to come. Legal confrontations over the seizure of this site in the Adirondack Park still loom ahead. Produced by AKWESASNE NOTES in conjunction with Ganienkeh Communications. 60 minutes.

I AM A MOHAWK: Ernie Benedict, presently on the faculty of Manitou College, and the founder of the North American Indian Travelling College, talks about a free border for native peoples. He relates the history of the International Boundary between the U.S. and Canada, a line which passes through the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, and describes the divisive effects it has had on the community. 30 minutes.

THE RIGHT TO REMAIN INDIAN: What is law? Aubrey Grossman slowly explains the components of law and their role in the history of Indian-European treaty relationships. He stresses that should the U.S. refuse to fulfill its treaty obligations, then native people no longer need to fulfill theirs. This talk is an excerpt from Grossman's court presentation in the trial of Sumac, an important case testing the rights of native men to refuse induction into the U.S. military. 30 minutes.

DAVID CAMPBELL INTERVIEW: Campbell's new album, "Through Arawak Eyes" has been acclaimed for its sensitivity to oppressed peoples. David relates his own colonial experience in Guyana to that of other native peoples, and speaks of the importance that traditional music has on the current movement. 30 minutes.

STATEMENT FROM THE LONGHOUSE AT AKWESASNE: During a filmed interview granted to CBC-TV, Mohawk spokesmen speak of sovereignty of their nation. After, one of the Mohawk sub-chiefs speaks on diversity in nature, and the right of all people to follow their Original Instructions. 30 minutes.

WOUNDED KNEE EPILOGUE: Kevin McKiernan, one of the few reporter/photographers to consistently report the native viewpoint, has put together a comprehensive overview compiled from his coverage of the Wounded Knee controversy. This tape, produced for Minnesota Public Radio, begins with reports from inside the occupied village, to the trial and interviews with important participants: Banks, Means, Moves Camp, Kunstler, Lane, Hurd, Nichol. McKiernan won first place in the 11th annual Armstrong Awards For Excellence in Broadcast Journalism for this tape. 60 minutes.

THE CASE OF YVONNE WANROW: An interview with a young native woman sentenced to 25 years in prison for defending her children against a known child molester who had broken into their home in the early morning hours. Yvonne relates the sexist and racist actions against her. This tape was produced by Natasha Friar for WBAI-FM in New York. 45 minutes.

DISASTER IN GUATEMALA: A personal account of the February 4 earthquake by a visitor to the country, followed by an interview with a Mayan man, whose comments in Spanish are translated into English. An appeal for assistance with the Earthquake Project is at the end. 30 minutes.

Special Cassette Package

A sampler of four tapes will be sent for $10, our selection from the diversity of our 100 or more titles, as a means of introducing people to the variety of program material. Send $10 and ask for "Special Cassette Package".

POSTERS

2 *Chief Joseph*

3 *Wounded Knee*

5 *Zuni Governor*

6 *Sitting Bull*

7 *Three Sisters*

8 *Grandma Hunter*

9 *Poundmaker*

10 *Shackled Native*

11 *Family Portrait*

12 *Three Horsemen*

13 *Fire Carrier*

15 *Dan Katchongva*

16 *Our Ideas*

17 *Statue of Liberty*

18 *Signs of the Times*

WARNING WARNING
NO OUTSIDE WHITE VISITORS
ALLOWED. BECAUSE OF YOUR
FAILURE TO OBEY THE LAWS
OF OUR TRIBE AS WELL AS THE
LAWS OF YOUR OWN, THIS
VILLAGE IS HEREBY CLOSED.

19 *Flathead Chief*

20 *Rush Gatherer*

21 *Bear-Belly*

22 *Campesinos*

23 *Wintu Woman*

24 *Shrine of Hypocrisy*

25. Circle of Life

26. Crow Dog

27. *Blackfoot Chief (this issue's poster)*

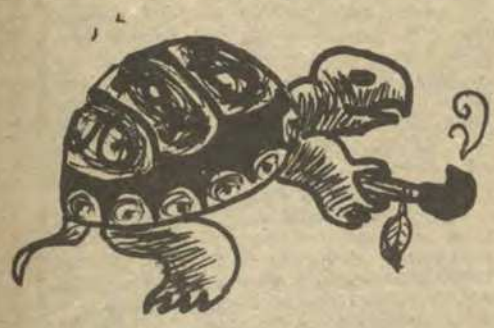
In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows – 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $25.
Order from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

DIALOGUE

In the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there were four articles by Sotsisowah, Dr. Jack Forbes, GawWeeTraw, and John Trudell which clearly established beachheads for contemporary native thought — but which need further dialogue, expansion, and appraisal. Letters on this page were written primarily in response to those articles. The Editors.

BROTHER: I want you to know how much I personally appreciate your printing those four leading theoretical articles in the Early Autumn issue! To have traditional action, there must be traditional theory. Until now, the only traditional theory we have had came from two white men — Jean Jacques Rousseau and Claude Levi-Strauss. Now, it seems that we have traditional theory coming from an Indian!

Charley Colcord
National Assn. of Metis Indians
New York City Chapter
150 West 96th St. taaB
New York, N.Y. 10025



FRIENDS: I don't agree with all your ideas, but I find you the most honest, modest, and generous people I've ever known. Some of the ideas of your thinkers (Sotsisowah, Dr. Jack Forbes, and others) I find vague and I wonder how well they will work. You want to go back to what you consider a golden age. This is an urge that often crops up. Some white professors think the 12th or 13th Century was ideal in Europe, with the guild-craftsmen, before capitalism, or the time when Greece was in its glory, especially in Athens. But whatever the truth about how good a golden age was, it seems impossible to go back.

I gather the impression from you native Americans that you think progress is a mirage, that it only makes things worse; nevertheless, many values have been achieved: philosophy, science, engineering. We can't live without them now, anyway, so we might as well make the best of them.

I believe that socialism — the opposite of capitalism — if sanely and intelligently fulfilled, will create the best conceivable society for us. Ideally speaking, it will retain all the good miracles of the past and get rid of all the bad elements. As for religion, I'm a complete atheist. I think any belief in religion, however, beneficial in some ways, is inclined to do more harm than good. Any untrue beliefs tend to confuse people and increase the general area of ignorance. But I like you people very much and will do all I can to support you.

Al Amory
East Pepperell, Massachusetts

NOTES: I especially relate to the article sent in by GawWeeTraw I sure know a lot of Indians — with a good amount of "Indian blood" — who really are Europeans. They have gladly accepted the European god, the greed, and they have lost their sensitivity toward Earth, her other creatures, as well as their own people.

Ruth L. Evans
Revere, Massachusetts

FRIENDS: These four articles in Early Autumn issue are very impressive and caused me to think over my own life. It may sound strange for you, because I'm white, but I found many parallels in the article by GawWeeTraw.

I was educated in the deep belief that the best we human beings can do is to develop and increase the so-called "progress", the industry, the technology, in order to become the little gods of the earth, to manage and direct the "hostile nature". It took me a long time till I saw that this way was wrong, and that it was the best way to destroy the earth, mankind, and the mental health of every being.

You can find here some people — not very many — who want to change a few things, such as pollution of water and air. But even those will never give up their cars and their sumptuousness. You nearly never meet a person here you can share the thoughts and ideas which GawWeeTraw expressed. They don't even know what you are talking about. I'm really glad I read it.

Ingrid Wunsche
Hamburg, Germany

NOTES: I note your awareness of the plight of the Aurukun Aborigines [p. 42, Early Winter 1975 issue]. My Civil Rights class is taking the case as a research project, with the hope of assisting in the overturning of a previously celebrated disaster in the cause of land rights for Australia's Aborigines, the Gove Case (*Milirrpum v. Nabalco, 1971*).

If you are aware of lawyers particularly willing to correspond with us over land rights questions, please advise.

Charles Potter, Lecturer in Law
University of New South Wales
POBox 1
Kensington, N.S.W.
Australia 2033

NOTES: I have threatened many times to give up reading NOTES for the simple fact it makes my temper boil every time I open the pages to discover yet more evidence of man's inhumanity to man. Is the American Government run by thugs? How are these things allowed to happen?

If the white man had discovered North America in 1975, any attempt to set foot on that land other than as a guest and visitor would immediately provoke a world-wide hue and cry.

The article by Sotstisowah (Early Autumn issue) is such an important message for the whole world as well as the native peoples. For after all, we were all native people of somewhere at one time. The situation of the world today demands a return to natural life for everyone, and a way of thinking as portrayed in the poem "THEN" by J.P. Bernhard in the same issue. My thoughts are constantly with you.

Tony Wainwright
Cheshire, England

FRIENDS: A note in support of the deep and wonderful articles in the latest issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, especially "Indian: The Color of Your Psychology." We must always remember that "the old ones" may have been physically conquered, but they never surrendered their spirits. Neither should we.

T.K. Rueb
Kinderhook, Illinois

NOTES: Your latest issue is an incredible piece of investigative reporting. I speak mainly of "Cable Splicer" and "Garden Plot". I only wish these words could appear on the front of the *New York Times*.

NOTES is not only a great native paper, but a great paper. I am proud of you.

Frank Broken Toe
Middletown, New York

NOTES: I read the four important articles in the Early Autumn issue. I am 83 years old, and for 40 years, I have been wishing and hoping and looking for some way out of this economic mess. I would like to have the original Indian way to show me the way to survival.

Albert R. Stout
Medford, Oregon

FRIENDS: My support for the native American movement for freedom is inseparable from my own struggle to be a free whole human being. I have learned an essential lesson from that movement as a non-Indian — that there is another way to live life, and that people can value each other as humans in a whole natural world.

Under the capitalist production system, people relate to one another as if they were the objects they produce and possess. Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that we have developed a sense of possession causing an alienation of the senses of seeing, hearing, smell, experience, etc.

Marx called his philosophy "thorough-going naturalism or humanism". He envisioned a totally different society based, not upon the production of things, but upon humans. What Marx showed in theory, the Indian Way shows in practice.

Because the native American movement is so important to all of us trying to be human, I want to discuss a tendency I saw in the theoretical writers in the Early Autumn issue. They tend to view all non-Indians in a stereotyped way, not recognizing those of us also opposing the system and seeking freedom. To me, if Indians have seen through the lies and stereotypes about themselves, they can see through the same thing being done to other groups.

Sotsisowah showed how Indians are resisting, yet he seems to think European workers accepted their conditions of labor. But the whole history of working people has been one of opposition to oppressive conditions. All changes in work, wages, working hours, etc., were created by the self-activity of the people. In 1844, the weavers in Silesia went on strike opposing some newly-introduced machines But they also tore up the deeds of ownership to the machines. The radicals of the day viewed this as crudely destructive. Only Marx took it serious. He said that by tearing up the deeds, they were questioning the very basis of private property. Today, their tradition is being carried on by the Yankton Seven and the women who used to work at Shiprock.

Along with GawWeeTraw, I was deeply saddened by the story of the racism shown against the Lumbee delegation to the 1969 Unity Convention. I too hope that never again will Indian people so capitulate to white racist capitalistic thinking. We are not told that Florida was a refuge for fugitive slaves and Indians who helped each other to survive, that the first American death in the Revolutionary War against the British was that of Crispus Attucks, who was black and Indian. Or that Sojourner Truth, the great woman fighter for both black and women's emancipation in the 19th Century was half Mohawk.

Blacks, Indians, working people — each respecting one another's history and culture — can work together to create the new human relations we all need.

Susan Van Gelden
News & Letters Newspaper
1900 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan 48207

NOTES: It was said in the Early Winter issue (p. 33) that "the institutional church is the greatest enemy of native Americans". This sounds shocking and sad to many Christians, but unfortunately, is quite true. It is also true that "Catholics and Protestants are in rivalry for Indian souls" and that Indians are often used as the "means for their [Christian's] own misguided salvation" (p.30).

[Yet] these actions are not at all Christian-like acts. Perhaps both native and "enlightened" white Christians could work together to educate their fellow "Christians" who aren't living according to the book they profess to follow. I find many native Americans in their traditional religions to be more Christ-like than many self-impressed "false Christians". In the Bible [Romans 2:13-15] it states, "It is not by hearing the law, but by doing it, that man will be justified before God. When Gentiles who do not possess the law carry out its precepts by the light of nature, then, although they have no law, they are their own law, for they display the effects of the law inscribed on their hearts."

True Christians and religious native Americans both glory in the wonders of the Creation and give reverence and credit to the Creator for our being and our strength. May God, Great Spirit, Creator be with you and bless your paper and your people. May "Christians" eventually become real Christians and thus allow us all to live together peacefully and happily.

Ted May
Greenville, Michigan

PEOPLE: I doubt that I am the only one who was alarmed by the prejudicial and inflammatory tone of the articles on Christianity in the Early Winter issue, so I will say only this:

In the history of the world, a large number of heinous disgusting vicious acts have been performed in the name of kind gentle prophets, amont them Jesus, Mohammed, Buddha, and Handsome Lake. Yet no amount of grievous acts performed by evil followers truly discredits any of their teachings or diminishes those of good faith who find solace and guidance in the original teachings.

To argue a potentially good role for Christianity and other religions in the struggle of native peoples, I submit the example of the Cuban revolution, which had to speak to the spiritual resources of three peoples — native, African, and Spanish.

Adele LaBarre Starensier
New York, New York

NOTES: To the people, a lot of Indian people are saying that AIM and Indian resistance to the white man is dead. These people are sadly mistaken.

The warrior that fought in 1876 is still alive in 1976. The same spirit that guided the old warrior in buckskins and a bow guides the new warrior even though he may be dressed in jeans and carries a 30:06. The warrior has always been, and will always be.

We are probably the most misunderstood, least talked about, most criticized individuals in the movement. We are not Communist or Socialist or Democrats or Republicans. We do not see our actions as a Revolution, but as a continuation of the war that our people have fought since our first contact with the white man.

We realize that we are often considered not to be part of the in-crowd, or the jet-set, and that we are not considered articulate or intelligent by many. But we choose to be sincere dumb Indians rather than intelligent articulate white people.

We are often impersonated by many individuals, but it always seems that whenever these people have a chance to become warriors, they find it more important to talk to white Christian church leaders or college audiences or to go to Denver and get stoned. The true warrior is a member of a very small group.

We are often asked — what is our motivation for our actions? You see, we have to be warriors, not for ourselves, but because our people are still being murdered, and we are still not allowed to practice our own government and religion. And because that old man in that buckskin suit is my grandfather.

As for our future, the warrior is alive and free in 1976, and will continue to be a warrior as long as need be. As long as the U.S. and Canadian Government offer my people genocide, I will offer them only violence and death.

We look forward to the day when the white man is gone from our land, and the prophecies have been fulfilled. Until that day I will continue to be a warrior, even at the cost of unpopularity, long prison terms, and death. And even in Death I cannot be defeated, for then I will become a spiritual warrior, and know true happiness and freedom.

1976 is a good year to live, a good year to fight, a good year to pray, and a good year to die.

Stan Holder
From the Underground

[Stan Holder is one of the seven AIM members singled out for prosecution as a "leader" during the occupation of Wounded Knee. He failed to appear for sentencing last summer after conviction in federal court. His letter to NOTES came through U.S. Mails, and bore no address or postmark. The Editors.]

NOTES: You may be interested to know that it must be the same wherever Doug Durham speaks. My brother and I went to hear him "expose AIM" in Northbrook, Illinois. After an extremely dull talk of about one hour, during which he never really got to the point, he again could not return to the podium to answer questions because of "security reasons". I suppose the "security threats" were the four Oglalas Durham observed during his "exposé" — a woman and her three children were not allowed to say anything by the Birchers. When my brother and I and one or two other supporters tried to protest, the meeting was abruptly ended with the AIMsters, as the Birchers called the Oglalas and their supporters, being escorted out of the room. The Oglala woman was also denied the right to distribute copies of "Anatomy of an Informer" [from NOTES] she had brought to show the Birchers another side of Durham.

Tom Bischoffer
Wheeling, Illinois

NOTES: I am a history teacher. I was appalled at the Alvin Jock story on page 2 of the Early Winter issue. I shall read Alvin Jock's story to my classes.

Morris Carrell
Vancouver, Canada

NOTES: Several of the articles in NOTES affect me to the point I am ready to write a letter of protest to whatever government agency or individual was responsible. But I wasn't exactly sure who I should write or what their addresses were. I think it would be a great help to many people if you could have a little note at the end of each article explaining where to write a letter of concern or protest.

Scott Chausse
West Hollywood, California

[Our understanding of the way oppression operates is that the writing of letters is of little value in bringing about change. We urge concerned people first to organize — get together with other people and educate each other on the situation, talk about things that you can do as a group, and begin to take action. Oppression operates in an organized fashion, and the people must become organized if they are to deal with it. Where we feel a letter-writing campaign would be effective, however, addresses are given so that people can express their opinions. The Editors.]

Before the Buyers & Sellers

NOTES: I have been wondering if the Native Americans have any plans to take part in the so-called 200th birthday party of the United States. As the REAL natives of this continent kept the land free as the Creator made it, they must surely deplore the devastation and pollution that the European invaders have accomplished.

Perhaps a gathering of the natives of each state on July 4 would remind all of us that the land should not be bought and sold, only leased to people for care and use for the good of all. Also that we owe the native people a great debt for the preservation of the land that feeds us all.

Your NOTES reaches many countries, and I hope your voice will be heard loud and clear on July 4. I am not suggesting any violence – just a reminder that the native people cared for this land long before the buyers and sellers arrived.

Mrs. Winifred Durbin
Akron, Ohio

When Are We Going to Learn ?

NOTES: They have just learned that the FBI attempted to capitalize on the violent and sometimes fatal battling between two West Coast black militant groups in 1969. We wonder how long it's gonna take for the people to realize what the FBI are doing to native people in Pine Ridge?

Since 1973, the people forgot about "Indians". All the people remember is seeing an Indian with an AK-47 on NBC. Then in 1974 they see our warriors clashing with police in Sioux Falls courtroom. Again, we are the "criminals". In 1975, once more NBC shows the people how 2 FBI agents were executed by "Sioux" Indians in Pine Ridge. (We remember our brother, Joseph Kills Right Stuntz.]

But the people have never seen the other side – native people being shot down in cold-blood assassination attempts on AIM leaders, beatings and rapes on native women, fire bombings on defenseless homes. NBC should show what is happening at Pine Ridge.

Skouk Psaklazi
Albany, New York

Tricentennial Year of Mourning

NOTES: The first major defeat of native Americans on what is now U.S. soil was that of the Narragansetts in 1676. 1976 should be, therefore, declared the U.S. National Native American Tricentennial Year of Mourning, with appropriate poster and emblem depicting that massacre.

Harry F. Darling, M.D.
Onset, Massachusetts

Power-holders are the Enemy

NOTES: It is those glutens who have great power over other people who are the enemy of natural peoples and the Earth. I feel the truth and beauty of Sotsisowah's article [Early Autumn issue] for I too seek to live as a free human being and in harmony with earth and Creator and in peace with others and for the purpose of future generations.

Steve Wright
Mesa, Arizona

America, I Will Pray For You

NOTES: We stand now on the eve of the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the birth of the United States of America. I will forgive you your foolish ways and greed. I will forgive you for wanting more and more of the things you need less and less of. I can forgive you all things of the past for my mind is clean and my heart pure. But, my brothers, I will not celebrate the death of my beloved land and the killing of my forefathers, the destruction of a people, men, women, children, God's creatures and our Mother the Earth.

I will pray for you instead and mourn the death of all things good and true.

Conecha (James W. Parsons 11565
Box G
Wallkill, New York

How I Wonder Where You Are

NOTES: Carroll Lee Star or anybody knowing of his whereabouts, please notify me.

Adrienne Christian
POBox 96
Wyola, Montana 59089

Better Than Sympathy

NOTES: I do not sympathize with native Americans – I believe in them and thus join them in their movement now shaking these "United" States.

I sympathize with those poor white souls decaying under the stress and strains of their sick culture.

I am requesting all my white brothers who may read this to support the native by all and every means you know possible. Going beyond support, stand beside them in their endeavors as The People.

Frani Falcone
Long Beach, California

Special Thanks

NOTES: Special thanks to Wallace Black Elk, Ellen Moves Camp, and all others who attended Bernardo Escamilla's trial and gave their support. Extra-special thanks to Dan and Linda.

Beth Kingfisher
Belmont, California

Destructive Friction

NOTES: It has been brought to my attention that there are lobbyists, consisting of reservated Indians, who wish to decrease federal money to non-reservated Indians. Friction among people with common goals is destructive. It destroys the power of numbers and the strength of unified spirit. Numbers and unification are necessary to obtain and maintain your rights to seek goals.

June F. Lowry
Thomasville, North Carolina

Learning To Tell The Difference

NOTES: Thank you for the special issue for IFCO – it was most informative and helpful as usual. I am an Oneida and I am a Christian. For a long time I have been deeply hurt by many of the articles printed in your paper referring to the Christian "religion" and its sins against the Indian people. I would like to try to make the distinction between the kind of "Christian" who carried bibles wrapped in smallpox blankets to my people, and those who came trying to bring the witness their Lord wanted brought.

I am aware that today there are men who call themselves "Christian" and continue to serve mammon in the guise of national government policy. I am also aware that the woods are full of illiterate fools who still refer to that book which they are unaware contains any words but those they have memorized, all supporting their particular points of view. I am further aware of the fools who really believe they are right in believing that WASPs are God's chosen people who alone have His truth.

These are not the people He has sent. You can recognize His chosen messengers by the love they have for all mankind. They never preach that any race is superior to another. The true Christian will willingly lay down his life for another – he will not ask whether that person is worth the sacrifice. He will never ask for goodness in anyone but himself. In short, a real Christian will remind you of the one who sent him, because he will be like Him.

Even if you feel that it is not possible to follow Jesus Christ and still be an Indian, I hope you understand those of us who do better.

Janice Lincoln
East Bridgewater, Massachusetts

Idaho State Prison Violates Law

NOTES: We Indians here at the Idaho State Prison are forbidden to worship and practice our Indian religion, and are forbidden to gather together to conduct our religious meetings or have a medicine man into the prison to administer to our spiritual needs.

But all other religious groups are permitted to have their bishops, priests, chaplains, etc., into the prison to administer to their spiritual needs. What kind of a place is this America, the free country, where the white man pretends to abide by his so-called Constitution, and yet turns around and breaks them at the bat of an eye? We Indians are first class – we were in this country first, and have never tried to force our religion or beliefs upon the white Christian people, even when we were powerful.

Tell me, religious Christian – is it a sin for me to be born an Indian, and worship the religion that was meant for me? Tell me where are my equal rights.

Lewis John Ballard 14638
POBox 7309
Boise, Idaho 83707

William McIntosh: Sentenced To Die By His Own Law

NOTES: On your calendar for May 1, you tell how in 1825 William MacIntosh, chief of the Lower Creeks, was sentenced to death by the tribal council, and executed for his part in selling off Creek land east of the Mississippi River. A descendant of William MacIntosh, Jane MacIntosh of Denver, Colorado, wrote you [see Letters, page 47, Early Winter, 1975 issue], "I greatly resent your reference that [MacIntosh] was a traitor. I hope if you are preparing another calendar for 1976, that you will engage the services of an accurate historian."

William MacIntosh was a traitor.

The definition of a traitor can be found in the white man's dictionary. It refers to one who betrays his country, cause, friends; one guilty of treason.

In 1811, a law was passed by Muskoke Council upon the advice of William MacIntosh. Death would be the penalty for unauthorized land sales. These were the words of MacIntosh:

Estimat ekana wiyet on omat eme mahosat eka oh likat esfoket omares ce. (Whoever will sell land, will pay with the price of his head.) *Mohmet ahakat hayomet omares ce.* (And this shall be the law.) *2. Mohmet vhauke afayatkan etca atehket mohkake heret satcaket omares.* (And a gun loaded with powder well-prepared will be standing by the door. *3. Mohmet eslafka motakhaka ocet apake heret omares.* (And a knife or sword will be with the gun.) *4. Mohmet heya ekana wryatet semes temerketa yat omares.* (And who ever sells this land he shall suffer in this way.) *5. Ahakat omares tasekaya talwalke enake ocepaten en wiyet estemericet on omat heya hayomet ahakat omares ce.* (This shall be the law for whoever sells this land that has always belonged to the Nation's citizens and thus causes them to suffer. This shall be the law.)

In 1825, MacIntosh was warned of this Law by Hopethle Yahola before he signed any papers. Also, the Commissioner knew of this law. But the Commissioner promised MacIntosh protection by the United States. He went on and signed a Treaty. The Muskokes held a council and agreed to carry out the Law of Land Sale. Mene was sent to execute MacIntosh and his associates. Two white men, women and children were allowed to leave before his house was set on fire. His son, Chilly MacIntosh, escaped. He also was a signer of the Treaty.

This left two people for execution. When they came out, they were shot according to the Muskoke Nation's Law. One of MacIntosh's sons-in-law was hanged because he was of the Treaty party, and another son-in-law was shot and wounded on the same day. These people were not authorized to sign a treaty – the decision of land was up to the entire nation, not chiefs.

I disagree with the letter defending William MacIntosh. According to definition of a traitor, he was a traitor. Every member of the tribe did not have to be there for the execution – a small group was assigned for an execution, not an assassination. A hangman acting on behalf of the people is also a "small faction" but he is empowered by the people to carry out his duties. MacIntosh was not executed for doing what he thought best – he was executed for selling land.

Traditional Creek People understand tribal laws and customs. It was understood by the Nation that no one would be blamed for carrying out the Law. If one broke the Law, he would die by that Law, and not by a leader. If you know traditional law, you will find the responsibility of final decision was upon Cussehta and Tuckepahce People.

I do not think the People that walked the Trail of Tears would think that MacIntosh thought best for his people, because thousands of them died on their way to what is now Oklahoma. I have seen no change in the U.S. Government's dealing with the Muskoke Nation yet. They still deal with the type of Indians like the present-day chiefs who still sell our land. These are the people the U.S. Government agrees with, not the People. When MacIntosh signed the Treaty, he was well-respected by the Government and his white neighbors, but the Creek People lost respect for him. We still have the same kind of people today.

MacIntosh gained respect from the white man because he killed his own people at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend with Andrew Jackson. Here on Tallipoose River was Okfuskee, Nuyaka, Hickory Ground People, and more than 500 were killed. This is where Andrew Jackson received his famous nickname, Old Hickory.

In closing, I tell you that I still have my identity as was given to me by the Creator and not by the United States Government because it does not have that power. I am a Wind Clan, and my father's clan was Bear. I still attend my Ceremonial Grounds one mile from where I live. I am the descendant of the survivors of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend 1814. The 200th birthday anniversary of the United States only reminds me of the blood shed by my people. I am Muskoke, and a member of the Nuyoka Tribal Ground by birth. I have never applied for any tribal payment from the United States Government – I feel that no money will ever heal the scar that I have on my heart.

Philip Deere
Okemah, Oklahoma

Never Again!

NOTES: I am Kiowa-Apache, presently confined in one of America's prisons, for a crime I committed against their society, a crime which I am not ashamed, neither am I regretful. I can see no wrong in taking from a system which took from my people all they call their own.

What I have learned during my confinement will not allow me to come to one of these places again. Nothing in their system is of interest to me or my road. Their ways cannot aid the spirit, nor will it build personal power. My ways are a million worlds apart, yet we dare to meet in the same time. . . Never again!

Robert Yellowhair 90379
Oklahoma State Penitentiary
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

People's College of Law

NOTES: I don't know if you have heard about the People's College of Law we got happening here or not, but one of our primary goals is to recruit American Indian people in our school. We're trying to train people's lawyers, and we want to have the best possible legal education. We want to do this in an atmosphere that is political, cooperative, and responsive to the needs of oppressed people.

It's a good school. I've been here since September, and I highly recommend it. It's the first time I've seen a school actually function on student energy. Our instructors are practicing lawyers, and they don't, for the most part, have time to run the school, so we do it all collectively – everything from admitting new students to hiring faculty, to setting up curriculum, is done by students, faculty, and staff alike. We have free child care during class time, and we do our own janitorial work.

Our admissions policy includes a strong emphasis on people with political backgrounds, although organizational work is not absolutely required to be admitted. Our goals include making our student population be 2/3 Third World and 50% women. We are in need of American Indian brothers and sisters to create a balance that will help us keep our political perspectives in line with the needs of the people.

For further information, write us.

Rita Jane Leasure
People's College of Law
2228 West 7th St.
Los Angeles, California 90057
telephone (213) 388-8171

Forever Is a Little While

FRIENDS: During the last two years, we have been corresponding with some Indian prisoners. But after they were released, we lost contact with them, although they did promise us to remain friends forever. This makes us feel sad.

We would like to know what has become of them, if they found a good life, or again got into troubles. Therefore, we ask you if you can put this letter in your paper so that our friends, if they read it, can contact us if they want to.

IEt & Suzanne Vossaert
Lenteklokje 61
Leeuwarden Frl., Holland

Bayonets of Past Are Sharpened

NOTES: The apathy that exists among whites and blacks since Wounded Knee 1973 is very frightening, and suprisingly, is more intense among today's college people than older non-Indians. Just as non-Indians were starting to give a damn about native people and the dictatorial paternalism that is imposed on them, it seems it has disappeared just as quickly.

The cancer that is working in the minds and souls of non-Indians is eating their society apart, just as Yukiuma and Katchongva prophecized. The tears, sweat, blood and heartache are felt only for the phantoms of the past, and not for native people who today are experiencing tears, sweat, blood, and heartache. The impasse is real and constant – non-Indians are not going to accept native people as contemporary beings, and native people everywhere must heed this.

The bayonets of the past are once again being polished and sharpened and now more than ever, native people must not buckle under to any pressure from America and the Machiavellian Devil that is invested in their society. Native people must realize more than any time in history that the traditions, beliefs, and customs of native life are the only harmonious guidelines for this continent. As Vine Deloria said:

"Who will find peace with the lands? The future of mankind lies waiting for those who will come to understand their lives, and take up their responsibilities to all living things. Who will listen to the trees, the animals and birds, the voices of the places of the land? As the long-forgotten peoples of the respective continents rise and begin to reclaim their ancient heritage, they will discover the meaning of the lands of their ancestors. That is when the invaders of the North American continent will discover that for this land, God is Red."

Randy Stearman
Newberry, Florida

LETTERS

The Chiloquin Family

NOTES: We wish to extend our thanks and sincere gratitute to all who made donations of money or merchandise to the Chiloquin Fund.

This Fund was implemented by Many Smokes *and the Bear Tribe who handled all donations and used the Fund to finance the advertising and promotion of our cause. We had no way of knowing who made the donations.*

We received the many petitions signed in our behalf when the Fund was terminated by the Bears, and have sent them off to our Congressman. To all who signed and for the many beautiful letters of encouragement and support we personally received, our thanks is truly given.

We do not intend to establish a new fund, but will continue to fight for the restoration of this portion of our sacred tribal lands. We need your prayers and good wishes. May the Great Spirit bless you all in the coming New Year.

The Chiloquin Family
POBox 452
Chiloquin, Oregon 97624

[The Chiloquin Family makes tipis for ten dollars a foot height. These are made from number ten canvas, and are completely waterproofed. A plain door flap on a willow rod is furnished with each tipi, but a fancy door can be ordered special. The tipis are pebble-tied at the bottom, and are authentic in every detail. A heavier weight canvas can be used at a higher cost. The Chiloquins have a family of seven, and support themselves and their fight to have their traditional sacred lands kept for tribal use. The Editors.]

A Place To Sit Down & Listen

NOTES: As an editor of a small, ambitious country newspaper — an endangered species — I want to express my admiration for the excellence of NOTES, its design and editorial content. A single issue contains more information about American Indian affairs and the struggles of the nations than most of us are likely to encounter by other means in the course of many years.

The consciousness which is everywhere expressed in NOTES seems to me the best and truest offspring of human life on these continents. In the several centuries we Europeans have inhabited this land, we have learned precious little about it, failed to take instruction from those naturally endowed to instruct. Now, as our Promethean rage abates, perhaps we will find the place to sit down and listen. If we do not, the further evolution of human life in this hemisphere will be seriously imperiled. The sovereignty of the nations, insofar as it is a necessary condition for the flourishing of Native American consciousness, is also necessary to us interlopers if future generations of us are to survive here.

R.D. Eno, Editor
The Country Journal
POBox 236
Plainfield, Vermont 05667

Defining Public Law 280

NOTES: Since your paper speaks truth, and with words we as grass-roots people of the natural world are able to understand, I respectfully ask that someone with knowledge of the legal world's law, called Public Law 280, define it in terms easily understood, as there are many affected.

I understand that because of PL280 there are thousands of our children displaced in non-native homes across the U.S., children stolen by non-native social agencies from reservations because mothers were not able to meet demands imposed upon them by white welfare agents, as well as native mothers trapped in cities who went to seek temporary assistance from Christian churches, and in the process, lost their children permanently.

Lastly, I want to thank our Grandfathers for wise men such as Vine Deloria for broadening my understanding of the world or reality (as is) through "God Is Red".

Naches
Cage E 316
P.O.W.32975
Oregon Prison
Salem, Oregon 97310

P.S. I hear you, Jim. . .
Crow Dog: One Body, One Mind, One Spirit.
Lolita Lebron: su ejemplo sirve para sostenernos.

NOTES: I flew above the snow. I floated on the clouds. I shouted to the silence and heard the roar of peace so loud so soft and all around. I saw the ancients weep. Another age will begin for once again we've shut our minds on what is right and listen to the lower power slap mother nature in the face. Crushed down God's natural beauty and watched man's creations of artificial foolishness. Made beggars of strong men in the stench of self-pity and green medical cards for the young and the strong. Removed all respect and honor for the family togetherness. Stripped all incentive to live and created a society of dishonest untrustworthy bigots of every color and creed at war against each other.

Sorry I cannot sign my name as I am on the run and have enemies that would turn me in or end my life as they did my little cousin.

J.F.P.Z.

A Prison Letter To The People From Carter Camp, Ponca Nation

BROTHERS & SISTERS: The last NOTES was the best I have ever read. I wish it was mandatory reading for all those "Americans" who think their Government is benevolent. My congratulations to those involved in putting together a true record about the oppression of our people.

I believe you have documented the way in which the right-wing military and police forces are moving toward the takeover of the civil government and installation of a totalitarian state. Then the whole U.S. A. will become a reservation for people of all colors.

In response to your spotlight on the dangers of a police state, the duty of every freedom-loving individual in the U.S.A. is clear. We must first join together in a unity of races and present a united front to the enemy. In the true Indian way, everyone must have a place in the struggle. As Vine Deloria, Jr., put it so well, we must stop fighting each other and recognize who the enemy is. Everyone *must* have a purpose and a duty in that struggle.

Your duty at NOTES is well defined in bringing the truth to the People. Others have to use the skill they are best at to oppose the oppressors. Good organizers must organize resistance in the communities. Teachers must teach the young and the ignorant of our goals. Public speakers must strive to reach ever-increasing numbers of people. New leaders must emerge to replace those who have fallen. Program people should use their access to money to fund the defense needs of the warriors. Warriors must escalate to the level used against us. Only by doing so can we hope to win. People's war is the necessary art we must learn to gain and re-establish our freedom — it is the necessary pain we must go through to birth a nation.

The arrest and subsequent imprisonment of Lakota holy man Crow Dog must be understood by all people. He is not in the white man's cage because he is guilty of any crime. We were on trial together, and I know there was no evidence to convict him. He is in jail because this insidious government sees a chance to strike a blow at the very foundation of our existence. By taking people like Crow Dog from us, along with other learned traditional people, the "Americans" hope to undermine our very basis for being together as one people. He is a symbol to them of all that is good and powerful about our people. Because this is true, we must all come to his aid. If we can't protect our holy men, what is left for us? Free Leonard Crow Dog!

I don't know what the future holds for me, my people. I can't tell if I'll ever make it out of here, but the future holds no terror for me. Inside or out, the struggle goes on, and I must be part of it. I would trade again the freedom of Wounded Knee and the liberation of our people for a few days, for the long years in here. It was worth it.

Our people *are* more important to us than long jail terms.

Carter Camp
U.S. Penitentiary
POBox 33
Terre Haute, Indiana

[Carter Camp was part of the [illegible] who was found guilty of "assault on postal inspectors" — but he decided not to appear for sentencing. He was arrested months later in Chicago, and was taken to Terre Haute to start his three year sentence. A poster, "Shackled Native", with his quotation, the last sentence of this letter, is available from AKWESASNE NOTES. The Editors.]

An outspoken defender of the Navajo Nation, Fred Johnson, was killed in a plane crash in early January, along with tribal councilman Don Noble and BIA tribal operations officer Clare Thompson and pilot Jimmy Vaughn. Johnson had been active in defending the sovereignty of the Navajo Nation, in opposing the gasification projects planned for his people's land, and in the Coalition for Navajo Liberation. He fought hard for his people during his short lifetime — now it is for his people to carry on in that struggle.

Charles Gooderham, beloved son of Esther Stanton of Michigan, passed on last Autumn as the leaves were falling. "I gave him back to our Great Spirit," his mother writes. "He is not suffering now. He is buried by a maple tree, he loved the trees and birds so." Now that maple tree is showing signs of life and budding leaves as Spring continues the Creation's cycles.

Duke Iditicava died of pneumonia at his home on Havasupai Nation lands on January 4. He was modest, cheerful, but he was the last living person with the power of the rain song that came from his grandfathers. He seldom used his song, because he feared its power. In his younger days, he hunted with bow and arrow. His legacy was left in his children and his land.

It was a year ago that Julia Benedict, a Mohawk grandmother on Cornwall Island at Akwesasne, died. She was totally serene and fulfilled, and her spirit still lives on in the lives of her descendants who were affected by her life, and still grieve at her loss as they remember and relive thoughts of peace and kindness.

Paul David, who had been one of the mainstays of the Akwesasne Mohawk Longhouse, passed into the spirit world late this winter. When there were only a handful, he remained strong and faithful. Gradually, the spark he nourished grew, now to be fueled by his grandchildren while he takes the Long Sleep.

William Red Fox, whose autobiography a few years ago created controversy over its authenticity, passed on in February at the age of 105. He was born in 1870 and traveled with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Shows.

The Children Will Save Us

NOTES: It seems that throughout our struggle, children have been at the very least close to the center of the fire — often it is they who are burned and blamed. The question for us is: what must we do to help our children in their hard, long struggle for existence and development?

First, we must give them more of our attention. That is, we must spend more time trying to know them. This also means we must view our children as "persons", not as objects or possessions to be ruled or manipulated. Secondly, we must give them encouragement and motivation — but we can only encourage and motivate if our lives project these things. We must practice what we preach, for children are extremely perceptive. They can see us as we truly are. Last, but most important, we must give our children love, and when they are scolded, it must be done with unity and good criticism.

This is the natural way, and it keeps a oneness flowing. We must give them the spirit of ourselves, bare our soul to them. This means sharing those strengths, understanding, and experiences that we know — or which we should re-educate ourselves to know. We must do this so they will not have to repeat our mistakes that were acquired through miseducation, deculturalization, and dehumanization maintained by degradation and debasement.

When we do these things, we are helping our children become what they must be to make their future have meaning, and hopefully they in turn will do these things for their children and others. Maybe then we will be close to the natural ways of Tunkishila. The world will be a step closer to the love, sharing, and understanding that is greatly needed now to bring to us the balance of harmony to our lives and the universe as it should be.

Save the children — and in the future, they will save us.

Mrs. Louis A. Iozzi
572 Olive Terrace
Union, New Jersey 07083

NOTES: My Native American Brothers and Sisters must work even harder to solve our problems. We are all strong, and will win and survive in the end.

But now it seems our children's lives and futures are being threatened by the pusherman on reservations and urban communities all across the land. This must come to a halt. We must educate our young on how to protect themselves from this evil of dope and hard drugs, as well as alcohol, the age-old problem of our people.

We must also [illegible] which seek to destroy our people from within and without. We must all deal with reality in a practical and more efficient manner than before, if we are to survive through our children.

We all must also educate ourselves as well as our brothers and sisters to discover our potential to rise above the fundamental barriers which are placed in front of us. None of us is powerful enough to change the course of the future for all our people — thus we must cast off the barrier of petty racial hatred. Those who retain their racial hatred and false pride and continue to interfere with our constructive efforts will put a lid on any success we may achieve.

Dan Alan Brown
Box C
Waupun, Wisconsin 53963

NOTES: The only ones who would understand would be Indian families.

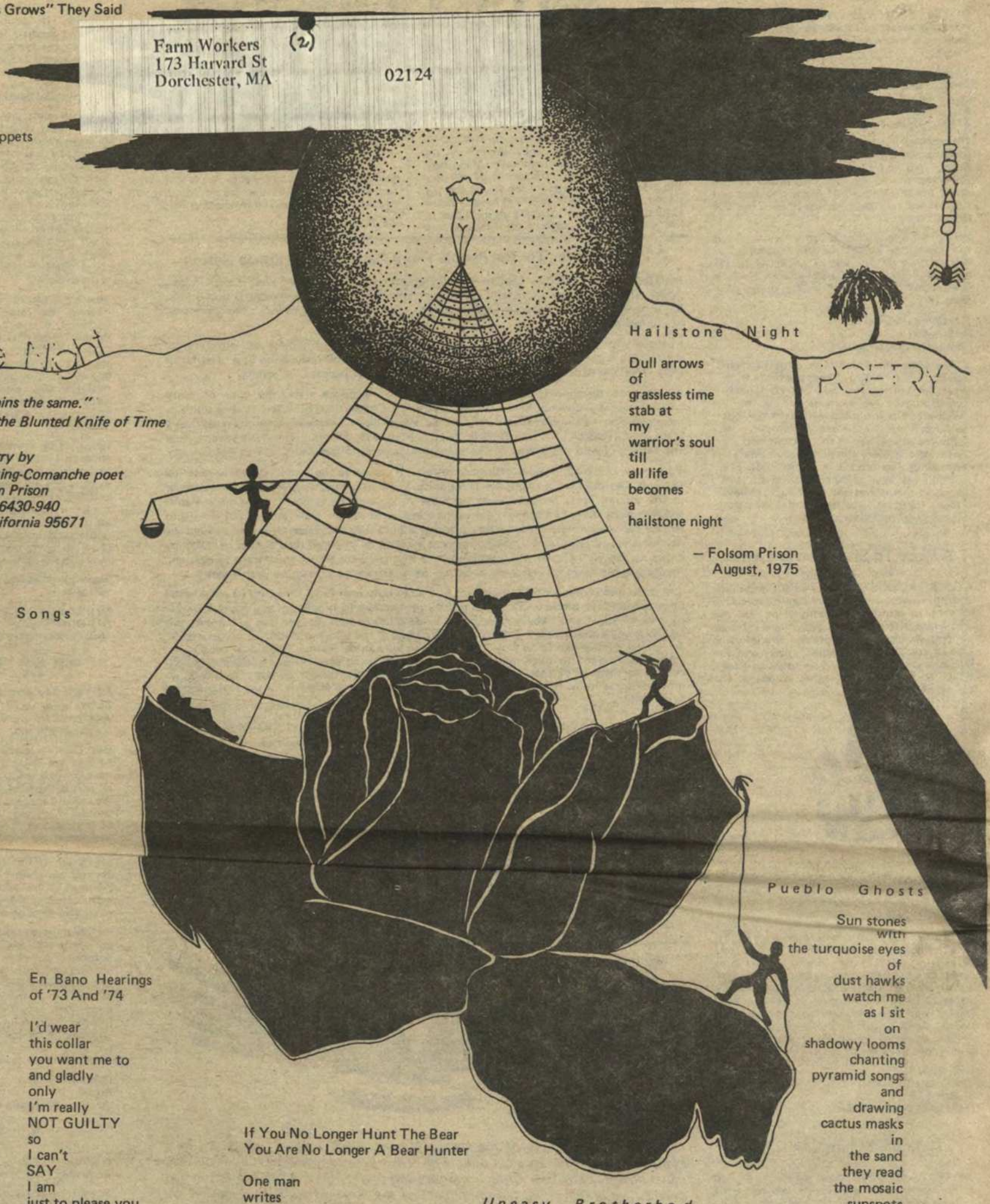
Sure, it's true the people bothering me are my relatives. I fear something might happen to my children if I don't listen to their warnings. Maybe they are trying to warn their own children through me, because their own children don't believe in this stuff — called have supper and put food in the fire. Those children would laugh and call me crazy.

So children, talk to somebody about this. Even if you are not bothered now, you will later on in years. This will all come to you, like my aunts are doing to me now. Don't get the wrong impression that I'm tired of burning food. It's just that I fear for my children. I'm hoping that you will read this, and know it is your mom calling for help. She wants it from you. You don't just bury the dead and forget them — that's what they are trying to show you.

So children, don't laugh at me when I say put some food in fire, get some Indian tobacco, and pray. You should do this at least once a year, because they get hungry too, you know, in their spirit ways. You are here on earth yet, so you can help them.

It's hard to try and write this down and make someone understand, but I hope you girls will read this and think. Remember, nobody should ignore a person just because they're dead.

L.J.
Kansas



"As Long As The Grass Grows" They Said

Strong men
with hearts
like
winter rain
now
fight
faceless government puppets
for
brown grass lands
taken
from their fathers
by treaties
they couldn't read
nor
understand

Folsom Prison
August, 1975

Hailstone Night

"Prison remains the same."
A Dull Ache Caused by the Blunted Knife of Time

poetry by
Ross Laursen, Viking-Comanche poet
Folsom Prison
Box B 26430-940
Represa, California 95671

Hailstone Night

Dull arrows
of
grassless time
stab at
my
warrior's soul
till
all life
becomes
a
hailstone night

– Folsom Prison
August, 1975

Summer Wind Songs

With our bellies
filled
with horse meat
and our spirits
like
new-born pups
we sang
to the summer wind
and sipped
slowly
from the sweet waters
of the cold springs
of our beautiful
our medicine
was strong
and good
we knew
that our children
would chase rainbows
eat sacred pinion nuts
hunt the elk
and grow tall
our faith
was the faith
of elders
who have heard
the brown owl
speak at night
seen
caught crows
dance
on the bleached bones
of our enemies
and prayed
that the blanket hills
of our ancestors
would be
a warm lodge
to our people
always
yes, our bellies
were filled
with horse meat
and our spirits
were like
new-born pups
and we sang
to the summer wind
all the old
and sacred songs
taught
to us
by the
Great Spirit
since that dawn
long ago
when he cast
our seed
upon the earth
and gave us
a name
blessed
by the stars
forever

– Folsom Prison
August 1975

En Bano Hearings of '73 And '74

I'd wear
this collar
you want me to
and gladly
only
I'm really
NOT GUILTY
so
I can't
SAY
I am
just to please you
and get
a damn parole

See My Lawyer In Court
Someday
when
this is all over
and
I've won
my freedom
I hope
they don't
insult me
by
trying
to apologize

Being Free Is Better

I've been
in this
one cell
over
five years now
and
I'm still
not
used
to it

If You No Longer Hunt The Bear You Are No Longer A Bear Hunter

One man
writes
that
you cannot destroy
the
people
but
I hold
where
the people
surrender
their heritage
for
gold
or
oil
or
money
or
trucks
or
vinyl-siding houses
with
electric stoves
that
the people
eventually
destroy themselves

Folsom Prison
July-August, 1975

Uneasy Brotherhood

In spring
I listen
for
young birds
but now
with winter grass
thinly
blanketing
the land
I turn my ear
to hear
the sad voice
of
the prairie world
and feel
an uneasy brotherhood
between us
for we are both
cold
hungry
and we look
each night
for mates
and warm companions
that are no longer
there

– Folsom Prison
August, 1975

Pueblo Ghosts

Sun stones
with
the turquoise eyes
of
dust hawks
watch me
as I sit
on
shadowy looms
chanting
pyramid songs
and
drawing
cactus masks
in
the sand
they read
the mosaic
sunspots
on my
pilgrim hands
and listen
carefully
to
the hollow echo
that my pottery dance feet
make
on the empty streets
of
solitude time
and
they wonder
what pueblo ghosts
wander aimlessly
in and out
of my
topaz brain
that I
should
find pleasure
in a
hanging rock sky
or
a coyote sunset
that only
a blue lizard
has seen

– Folsom Prison
August, 1975